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ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN SOUTHERN INDIA

(1000—1500 A.D.)

VOL. I

ECONOMIC CONDITIONS IN SOUTHERN INDIA

(1000—1500 A.D.)

BY

A. APPADORAI, M.A., PH.D.

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VOL. I

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FOREWORD

In this book, Dr. Appadorai presents the results of his researches into the economic conditions of Southern India from 1000 A.D. to 1500 A.D., that is to say, from the firm foundation of the Cōḷa empire to the reign of Krishna Dēva Rāya of Vijayanagar. The period chosen for study is well represented in epigraphy and literature in its various forms, as will be seen from the preliminary account of the sources given in the first chapter. However, the texts of only some of the several thousands of South Indian inscriptions are as yet available to the student, and for the rest, he has generally to depend on the summary notices in the annual reports on epigraphy, which are not always as informing as may be desired; even in the published texts of inscriptions, much that relates to the details of government and administration still remains obscure. Moreover, attention has been given so far more or less exclusively to the reconstruction of the early political history of the land, a necessary preliminary to the study of these documents on their institutional side, a study that can be said to have hardly begun. Literary evidence which is an authentic and unequivocal source of the knowledge of past history in other countries, is in India, unfortunately, of very little direct use to the historian, who has to grope his way in the dim light provided by foreign observers coming at long intervals and limited in the range of their travels and interests. It will be seen that Dr. Appadorai has cast his net wide and sought to bring together much interesting material from the

most diverse sources, Arab, Chinese and European, while he makes no secret of the difficulties of interpretation encountered by him.

The plan of the work is simple. India is and was primarily an agricultural country with a rural economy. The economic life of the village therefore rightly claims the first place, and is studied in considerable detail in a long chapter comprising about a third of the whole book. This is followed by a study of the growth of towns, the features of urban life, and the nature and organisation of industry, production and trade. The articles and the direction of foreign trade are then enquired into, before the role of the state in the economic life of the community is examined. The concluding chapters contain a brief study on the relief of the poor in normal times as well as during famines, and an attempt to determine the standard of life of the people in the period dealt with.

There has been no attempt on the part of Dr. Appadorai to gloss over inconvenient facts, much less to suppress them. In a strictly objective, scientific study, he has covered a wide field, and furnished a first view of the economic life of South India for a period of five hundred years. The picture is by no means complete, and in parts indeed not much more than a sketch. It is to be hoped that this work will provide a stimulus for more detailed studies on the economic life of South India in this and other periods of its history.

LIMBDI GARDENS,
ROYAPETTAH.

K. A. N.

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I began work as Research Fellow in the Department of Indian History in the year 1928 under the guidance of the late Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar, M.A., then Reader in Indian History, University of Madras. I have derived much benefit by consulting several scholars on various points that arose in the course of my work, and it is with pleasure that I acknowledge their help. Among them I must mention particularly Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, M.A., Hony. Ph.D., Professor of Indian History and Archaeology in the University till 1929; Mahāmahopādhyāya S. Kuppuswami Sastri, M.A., I.E.S. (Retired); Dr. N. Venkataramanayya, M.A., Ph.D., and Mr. V. R. Ramachandra Dikshitar, M.A., of the department of Indian History; Mr. S. Vaiyapuri Pillai, M.A., B.L., Pandit Raghava Iyengar and Mr. S. Somasundara Desikar of the Tamil Lexicon; Mr. H. Sesha Iyengar of the Kanarese Department of the Oriental Research Institute; Rev. Fr. Heras, St. Xavier's College, Bombay; Rao Sahib C. S. Srinivasachariar, Professor of History, Annamalai University, and Mr. T. G. Aravamuthan, M.A., B.L.

The Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, has kindly allowed me the use of the impressions of some inscriptions.

Finally it is a pleasure to me to acknowledge the unfailing readiness with which Professor K. A. Nilakanta Sastri, M.A. has helped me at every stage of

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A. A.

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method is its recognition of development in economic life and its consequent emphasis on the dynamic as distinguished from its purely static elements. Such a study can be attempted only on a basis of chronology and the aim of the historian in concentrating attention on kings and courts has been to get at a working chronology of ancient and mediaeval India.

A subject for investigation.

It is also a starting point for fresh work. For the statement, "the people does not change", seems to us, for the present, rather to point to a subject for investigation than describe a settled fact. For since Lane-Poole's time, a mass of new material has come to light in the shape of inscriptions, manuscripts and state papers which seem to open up a new field for research. Even a cursory examination of the inscriptions which deal with obsolete terms of land-tenure and taxation is sufficient to show that the village community, the basis of Indian society, has not remained unchanged, and that Indian land-tenures and the system of her taxation have undergone material changes; a perusal of the accounts left by mediaeval travellers similarly suggests that the direction of her trade was not then what it is to-day. As Moreland observes,[2] Indian economic history must therefore be described as a new subject of study.

[2]Moreland, *Recent work*, *E.H.R.*, II, p. 130. This statement may be qualified by the remark that something has been attempted in the way of describing the economic condition of India—e.g., Das, *Economic History*, Moreland, *India*, Dutt, *Economic History*—but what remains to be done in the field seems so vast in comparison that Moreland's description is a fair estimate of the present position. For what has been done in the field, see Moreland, *Recent work*, *E.H.R.*, II, p. 130 *et. seq.*

Scope of economic history.

It seems useful therefore to indicate in broad outline the general scope of our subject. Broadly interpreted, the subject of economic history is the economic condition of mankind at large through the recorded past. Regarded as a branch of general history it aims at helping us to understand, "what has been the institutional frame-work of society at the several periods, what has been the constitution of the various social classes and their relation to one another"; it asks, "What has been the material basis of social existence, how have the necessities and conveniences of life been produced, by what organisation has labour been provided and directed, how have the commodities thus produced been distributed, what have been the institutions resting on this direction and distribution"[3] and so on. The material basis of social existence resolves itself ultimately into the production and distribution of wealth at different epochs of the history of mankind. It is thus a study of the life of the communities, with special reference to one side of their activity.

The Nature of economic data: the social bias.

It will be useful, however, to indicate, at the outset one feature which is perhaps common to the economic history of all countries but certainly pervades the whole of the economic history of India. The economic motives which actuated man in early days were less disentangled from the other social motives than at present. Here we have to deal with a society which has not even now reached that clear separation of the

[3]Ashley, *Surveys*, p. 15.

economic motive from the other social motives which we find to a large extent in western countries to-day. And even if the people were actuated by economic motives, these motives have had to act through the medium of non-economic ideas. Custom, the influence of voluntary associations, and the force of ethical conviction have had more to do with the shaping of the economic evolution than the purely economic motive. Custom regulated the system of agriculture, prices and wages. Caste has been the social medium through which the occupations of the people were for a long time, and still are to a large extent, regulated. The gild was therefore intimately connected with the caste; it was partly a religious fellowship and partly a socio-economic institution. A body of rules or prescriptions as to conduct laid down certain principles of right and wrong in the economic sphere: the whole body of the Dharmaśāstras of the Hindus was in the background of Hindu society, and though we are not, at the present time, able to determine with accuracy how far they were actually followed, they certainly played a considerable part influencing the life of the people at large in many ways. To cite one instance, let us take the problem of the standard of life. In one sense, this is the culmination of all economic enquiry. By this term we do not mean an ideal mode of living, but the habits and requirements of life generally current in a community or grade of society at a given period. The Indian farmer wants not only food, clothing and shelter, but education, art and other amenities. But our attempt to estimate how he has been living involves some understanding of his opportunities and ideals in these

directions. These ideals are not all peculiar to the individual; they have been the crystallised experience of his class for centuries; they touch, at some points, the ideals of other classes in the Hindu fold. The Indian ideal of life—*Dharma, Artha, Kāma, Mōkṣa* (Religious merit, Wealth, Love and Release)—places *Mōkṣa,* as the highest aim, the *summum bonum,* but as Vijñānēśvara says they are all closely related. Says he,[4] without *Dharma* there cannot be a particle of wealth; such is the case with *Kāma,* and *Mōkṣa,* i.e. they are all dependent on *Dharma.* The silent influence of these ideals on the individual has to be taken into account in estimating his standard of life in practice. The life of the people is one whole; it is a process of growth and in dealing with such a process of growth, the interaction of the different elements of social life cannot be overlooked.

Thus the data we can obtain from the records of the past are not always purely economic. We have to exhibit the economic facts on a background of social institutions.

Selection of facts.

The material basis of social existence in South India in the middle ages sums up the aim we have before us in our inquiry. But since all the facts relating to the life of a community have a near or remote economic significance, there must be a selection of facts. Our selection of facts, however, is partly determined by the nature of the material that has come down to us from the past. Not only has the volume of evidence to be

[4] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā,* i, 1.

taken into account but also the relative value of each kind.

Topics treated.

Deferring for the moment a detailed review of the sources, we may say that while the material is not plentiful, it is sufficient to attempt a sketch of the economic life of the village in South India in the middle ages. The types of village settlement in different localities and the classes of people who lived in the village form the physical and human bases of the village community. The systems of land tenure have been studied next as providing a necessary introduction to a study of agricultural practice. The principal crops raised, reclamation of land, irrigation, processes of cultivation, protection of crops, breeding, yield of land, and agricultural labour are treated next as centering round what was, in mediaeval days, as is still the case, the one great occupation of the people, agriculture. The value of land in the middle ages is a topic of interest—the available evidence under this head is examined and its place in the village economy indicated. The system of village organisation of the south with the provision of a staff of village servants to meet most economic services of the village community is then passed in review. Inscriptions also give us an insight into the place the temple had in the economic life of the village, the economic results of internal migration, and slavery—these are taken up in order and finally, the economic characteristics of the village are summed up and an attempt is made to point out wherein the mediaeval South Indian village resembles and differs from the modern one.

Economic life of the village (Ch. II).

This section also introduces us to the economic life of the urban area.

Of towns (Ch. III).

Towns grew up owing to different favouring circumstances. No attempt is made here to exhaust the subject, but some typical instances are selected and these favouring circumstances shown. The town, however, had some affinities with the life of the village community—some rural elements—while the existence of a large population in it led to greater importance being given to industries and trade, and necessarily therefore, certain institutions connected with the development of industries and the carrying on of trade grew up. The essential characteristics of these institutions, as can be made out from extant inscriptions, supported by accounts of travellers form the subject-matter of section 2. The kind of articles in which they traded, the facilities of communication for such internal trade, tolls, the measures of length and weight, are all allied subjects and go with trade. A closing section on interest is added, as it appears important both for trade and industries to which we next direct our attention.

Industries (Ch. IV).

The chapter on industries is comparatively brief. References in inscriptions and accounts of foreign travellers have been utilised. Much as we should like to know more about particular industries, we have for the present to be content with what is rather a meagre survey.

Foreign trade (Ch. V).

The subject of foreign trade, however, admits of more copious treatment. The commercial communities—the human agency

for the trade—imports and exports, the ports which were the outlets for commerce, the shipping and navigation of the period have all engaged the attention of travellers more than other subjects and their accounts have been fully utilised in this chapter. A closing section is added on the influence of the state on commerce.

Sphere of the state (Ch. VI).

The main activities which enabled the people to earn their livelihood, and the conditions under which they worked have been touched upon. How the state helped or hindered them in such activities and in regulating the conditions of work forms the subject of the next chapter. The state's activities necessarily touched at more than one point the economic life of the subjects; it could help them by providing security for work, it could ruin agriculture and industry by imposing heavy taxes, or encourage them by moderate demands; it took some part in developing agriculture and regulating industry and trade. Provision of currency was its prerogative.

Charitable works, famines and poor-relief (Ch. VII).

These duties it undertook in ordinary times, but times of distress were not also rare. Famine now and then came in to disturb the peaceful lives of the people. The poor were a problem in ordinary times as well, and how the state, along with other agencies in the country, rendered relief to them is treated next.

The standard of life (Ch. VIII).

As we had occasion to remark at the beginning of the chapter, to ascertain the standard of life is in some respects the central aim of an enquiry into the economic history of a

country. The evidence for estimating it in the middle ages in South India is described in some detail, under two heads, the qualitative and the quantitative. The standard of life is closely connected with the wants of the people: these differed from class to class as they do to-day, and an infinite number of gradations might be marked, but our evidence permits only of two broad categories, the upper classes and the common people. The amount that one had to spend in the purchase of articles of consumption and the income one ordinarily got from one's daily avocation are also some indications of the standard of life actually reached; the evidence relating to prices and wages has therefore been finally discussed.

The place of economic theory.

A word may now be said about economic theory. The place of economic theory in economic history is this: the evolution of economic theory has been largely conditioned by the practical needs and conditions of the corresponding ages. But we shall be disappointed if we expect in the middle ages any systematic handling of economic questions. There is no serious theoretical enquiry on economic problems. We get some idea of what the men of the time thought concerning the economic side of life mainly from the writings of jurists. The value of such ideas is examined in the section devoted to sources. Suffice it here to say that we understand by theory not a reasoned explanation of phenomena but a body of ideas leading to prescriptions for the guidance of conduct. Indeed it is the moral side of economic life which our thinkers habitually

contemplate. Here the attempt has rather been to point out the essential ideas of the time rather than go into details. These ideas centre round the conception of property, deposits, sales and purchase, the rates of interest and wages, and choice of occupations for different classes, and have been dealt with in connexion with such topics; the relation between theory and practice is examined wherever possible and the gulf between the two indicated.

The economic point of view.

It will thus be seen that we touch upon a variety of topics. The different lines of social activity are so closely interwoven that we can get a clear and correct view of the actual working of economic institutions, only if we study them in their inter-relations. At the same time, however, these are studied from the economic point of view—viz., how people earned and spent their income. Selection of facts rather than exhaustiveness has been the aim. If some topics are but lightly touched upon, e.g., the relation between the employer and the employed in the middle ages, it has been due to the lack of evidence on the points, and it must be left for future research when materials turn up to deal more exhaustively with such points.

(2) SOURCES

Paucity of state papers in South India; comparison with England—Records kept by kings—Proof of their existence in later times—Their destruction—Classification of available sources—i. *Inscriptions*—Their number—Variety in subject-matter—Some not useful in economic history: 'plain statements of fact'—State-

ments of fact of indirect value—Inscriptions of value in economic history—Classification—1. Inscriptions which record transfer of property—Gifts of money—Gifts in kind—Inscriptions which record transfer of immovable property—Gift of land—Why so common—Form of grants—Their value varies—*A*. Royal grants—i. Assignments of revenue—Industries and occupations—Internal trade—ii. Grants conveying proprietorship—Service grants—*B*. Private grants i. gifts—ii. sales of land—2. Agreements—Vocational—Agreements of neighbouring landholders—Limitations of the inscriptions—ii. *Coins*—iii. *Chronicles and Histories*—Native—Foreign—iv. *Foreign travellers*—v. *Tradition*—vi. *Literary works*—vii. *Works on technical subjects*—viii. *Works of jurists*—ix. *Later state papers.*

Paucity of state papers in South India; comparison with England.

The historian who attempts to reconstruct the economic history of England in the middle ages has for sources a large mass of state papers and other contemporary documents of various kinds, so voluminous that he can hardly expect to master the whole. The Domesday Book and the court rolls of manors are remarkably illustrative of English village life. The manorial accounts were kept with precision and detail, and we are told that a skilled official could estimate to the utmost farthing the value of the services due from the villein to his lord.[5] For tracing the economic organisation of the urban areas, the town records, the gild rolls, the craft ordinances, and the statutes of the realm may all be pressed into service by the historian. Materials are also abundant for the history of English finance. 'The mass of financial

[5]Samuel Hewins, *Economics*, *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, (XI Edition), Vol. VIII, p. 900.

records', says Rogers,[6] 'is absolutely prodigious, for the pipe rolls exist in an unbroken series from the days of the first Plantagenet king down to the fifth of the Hanoverian house'. Other sources such as the accounts of private weaving companies supplement the above, and the result is altogether a large mass of material and it is not an exaggeration to say that one can picture to himself the life of an Englishman in the days of the Plantagenets from his cradle to his grave and the little society in which he lived.[7]

Records kept by kings.

The economic historian of South India in the same period is in a somewhat different position. He has no collection of public documents to which reference can be made. The lack of such state papers, however, is not due to any failure on the part of sovereigns. Students of South Indian history are aware of the many references[8] in inscriptions to surveys carried out by Cōḷa kings, to the record books and to the officers in charge of such records. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates[9] of Rājēndra Cōḷa I refer to the revenue register '*Varippottagam*' and the officers in charge, the '*Varippottagak-kaṇakku*'. The title of the chief secretary to the king '*Ōlai-nāyakan*'[10] is suggestive of the fact that in him lay the ultimate responsibility for the proper maintenance of the '*Ōlai*' i.e. records on

[6]Rogers, *Economic Interpretation*, p. 4.

[7]ibid.

[8]1086 A.D., 455 of 1905, 466 of 1905.

[9]*South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 205.

[10]635 of 1909, *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 18.

palmyra leaves. These records must have been remarkable for the completeness of detail which characterised them. This is apparent from the very detailed descriptions of boundaries of villages noticeable in inscriptions, which were copies of such records and intended to be in such donative ones public notifications of transfers of immovable property. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates devote 281 lines to the description of the four boundaries of the village of Paḻaiyanūr in North Arcot district. The care with which the documents were drawn up is also reflected in the minuteness of detail with which the dates of transactions are noted. Dr. Fleet draws attention to the manner in which a record of A.D. 1008 at Tanjore cites the one hundred and twenty-fourth and one hundred and forty-third days of the twenty-fourth year of the Cōḷa king Rāja Rāja I, and the date of a record of A.D. 1113 at Tiruvārūr in the Tanjore district cites the three hundred and fortieth day of the fifth year of the reign of his descendant Vikrama-Cōḷa-dēva.[11]

Proof of their existence in later times.

The originals of such records appear to have existed in some parts of the country even as late as the year 1800. Sir Thomas Munro was able to obtain possession of some of them when he went to South Canara to organize the district on its acquisition by the British after the close of the last Mysore war in 1799, and he describes them in a letter[12] to the Board of Revenue:—

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[11]Fleet, *Historical Research*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXX, p. 9.

[12]Dated 31st May 1800, Munro, *Minutes*, I, pp. 62—63. Italics are mine.

"The great value of land in ancient times led the *curnums* to adopt every expedient they could think of for the preservation of their accounts, because they were not only a register of the public revenue, but of all transfers of land among individuals. They wrote their accounts in black books which lasted above a century; and, to guard against accidents, they always made two or three copies, which were distributed among different branches of the family, to be kept separately. Whenever a volume became much worn, from length of time and frequent use, a fresh copy of it was made, and a memorandum was usually inserted in the title page, mentioning the year of *Sālivāhana* in which it had been written, and also the date of the original or older copy ......from which it had been transcribed. The use of these registers having been prohibited during the Mysore Government, a great part of them has been lost, from negligence and other causes; but *enough still remains to furnish a complete abstract of the land-rent during a period of more than four hundred years.*"

Their destruction.

Similar records must have been in existence in other parts of the country. Frequent burnings of capitals as e.g. Vijayanagar in 1565 added to the ravages of white ants have led to their destruction, and none seem to exist at the present day.

Classification of available sources.

In the absence of such state papers we have to resort to other sources, which though not so plentiful are none the less important because they are contem-

porary records of the time to which they relate, or embody information drawn from such documents, no longer available to us. The material that has thus come down to us may conveniently be classified under the following heads:—i. Inscriptions. ii. Coins. iii. Contemporary chronicles and histories. iv. Travellers' accounts. v. Tradition. vi. Literary works. vii. Works on technical subjects. viii. Works of jurists. ix. Later state papers.

i. Inscriptions.

The initial value of the inscriptions consists in the fact that, being copies of the originals,[13] they make up in part for the absence of state papers in this country. And hence the fundamental authorities for the economic history of the country in mediaeval times must always be the inscriptions. Their value in this connexion, though suggested by Dr. Burnell,[14] as early as 1878, does not seem to have been adequately realised by later historians.

Their number.

The number of inscriptions that have been copied is particularly large. From a note kindly supplied by the Assistant Archaeological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern Circle, Madras, (23rd July 1929), it is

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[13]The word *Tulyam* found at the beginning or end of many of the inscriptions suggests that the engravings on stone and copper of the edict issued by the king were compared carefully with the original documents on palm leaves. *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 24, 510 of 1918.

[14]Burnell, *South Indian Palaeography*, p. 119. The great scholar saw, with his usual keenness, that these documents would be of immense importance for the history of property and the social condition of the people. He was of opinion that with their aid "a history of property in South India is quite practicable from the 11th century down to the present time. Indeed in the Tanjore district at least it would be quite possible to trace in a satisfactory way the economic history of several communities".

gathered that the number relating to the Madras Presidency alone exceeds 20,000. Of these nearly 4000 have been published in the six volumes of the *South Indian Inscriptions,* while a good number have been critically edited in the volumes of the *Indian Antiquary, Epigraphia Indica,* and other journals. The appendices of the Annual Reports on South Indian Epigraphy, Madras, contain some remarks on important points contained in the unpublished inscriptions. And there are other inscriptions relating to Mysore, Travancore, the southern districts of the Bombay Presidency and Hyderabad which we have to take into account. They have been published in *the Epigraphia Carnatica, the Travancore Archaeological Series, the Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* and the *Hyderabad Archaeological Series* respectively.

Variety in subject-matter.

From the point of view of their subject matter, the inscriptions of South India present varied information. When Dr. Burnell wrote his classic work on South Indian Palaeography, he found but very little variety[15] in them. The progress of epigraphical research since then has enabled us to get at a large number of inscriptions which are as varied in their contents as they are copious in their details. Some of these, however, are not directly useful to the economic historian. In this group we may note all those which record facts of a quasi-political, juidcial, or purely religious

Some not useful in economic history: 'plain statements of fact'.

[15] Burnell, *South Indian Palaeography,* p. 94.

character. The political compacts,[16] judicial decisions[17] and the dedication of images in temples[18] are examples in point. In the same category, we may also place the succession lists of *Jaina gurus*,[19] the records left by pilgrims,[20] and the few memorials of *suttee*[21] found in the Telugu Canarese country. The large number of inscriptions[22] that merely commemorate the building or repair of temples are also of little use in this connexion, except to show that the building or repair of temples was one of the ways in which the rich spent their money on works of charity though done with a religious motive, the object of acquiring merit.

For such 'plain statements of facts' as Dr. Fleet calls them[23] we are indebted to the historical instinct of the Hindus which found expression in them, and they have their value historically in tracing the evolution of many points connected with the administration of criminal law and the development of religious cults or practices but they have little connexion with the economic life of the people.

Statements of fact of indirect value.

All such 'statements of facts', however, cannot be overlooked as being valueless; for some of them combine statements of facts with other information of some economic value. The numerous records

[16] *A.R.E.*, 1922, Appendix A, copper plates 4 and 5.

[17] 67, 77, 80, 91, 138 and 148 of 1906, *A.R.E.*, 1907, part ii, para 42; 257 and 352 of 1909, *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 30; 301, 302, and 303 of 1923.

[18] 260 of 1911, 168 (a) of 1922.

[19] *Ep. Car.*, II, 258.

[20] *Ep. Car.*, II, 10.

[21] *A.R.E.*, 1907, part ii, para 41, 156 of 1906, *Ep. Car.*, III Maṇḍya 103.

[22] 522 of 1911, 184 of 1922, 355 of 1923.

[23] Fleet, *Epigraphy*, *Imperial Gazetteer*, II, p. 50.

which merely register the date of construction of tanks,[24] planting of groves,[25] repair of tanks, wells and sluices,[26] erection of resting places,[27] found particularly on the west coast are useful in so far as they enable us to get an idea of the methods of charity and poor-relief in the country. Again records of visits of kings to temples[28] are valuable, because visits of kings to temples were availed of by the local gentry to apply for grants or leases of waste lands, and along with such grants or leases the terms of cultivation are specified. Some of the *vīragals* of Mysore, in commemorating the deaths of heroes record grants of land in addition.[29] From Mysore also come examples of religious suicide.[30] These come from various parts of the country and belong to different dates from 1120 to 1432 A.D. Men and women starved themselves to death in performance of a vow called *Sallēkhanā*[30a] which is thus described in the *Ratnakaraṇḍaka* of Samantabhadra: "When overtaken by calamity, by *famine,*[31] by old age, or by incurable disease, to get rid of the body for *dharma* is called *Sallēkhanā.* One should by degrees give up solid food and take liquid food; then giving up liquid food, should

[24] 455 of 1915.

[25] 546 of 1918, dated 1251 A.D. *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 26.

[26] 183 of 1901, 178 of 1902, 542 of 1905.

[27] *A Topographical List*, II, Godavari, 154 and 155.

[28] *Ep. Car.*, II, 240. 368 and 371 of 1911. *A.R.E.*, 1912, part ii, paras 29 and 30.

[29] *Ep. Car.*, III, Tirumakūḍal-Narsīpūr, 91, etc.

[30] *Ep. Car.*, II, 25, 33, 59, 118, 143, 258 and 380.

[30a] *Ep. Car.*, II, 67.

[31] Italics are mine.

gradually content himself with warm water; then, abandoning even warm water, should fast entirely; and thus, with mind intent on the five salutations, should by every effort quit the body".[32] These help to illustrate the influence of religion on economic life in mediaeval times.

Inscriptions of value in economic history—Classification.

Leaving these, for the present, which are of little value or useful only indirectly, we come to those which are of more direct value for our purpose. They can be classified under two headings, distinguished by the *motive* to which they owe their origin : (1) those which record transfer of property movable or immovable and (2) those which record compacts or agreements among communities. Excepting for a few which record sales and exchanges of land, the bulk of the former class register donations and endowments made to gods, to priests on behalf of temples and charitable institutions and to religious communities. These we owe to the religious side of the Hindu character. The latter are agreements among merchant communities and trade gilds, sometimes to make gifts, at other times to regulate common affairs, agreements among the landholders of neighbouring areas regarding the holding and redistribution of land or irrigation, or among caste men for the regulation of social customs or privileges or the settlement of disputes. These latter we owe to the corporate feeling which was fairly well developed in the social and economic life of the middle ages.

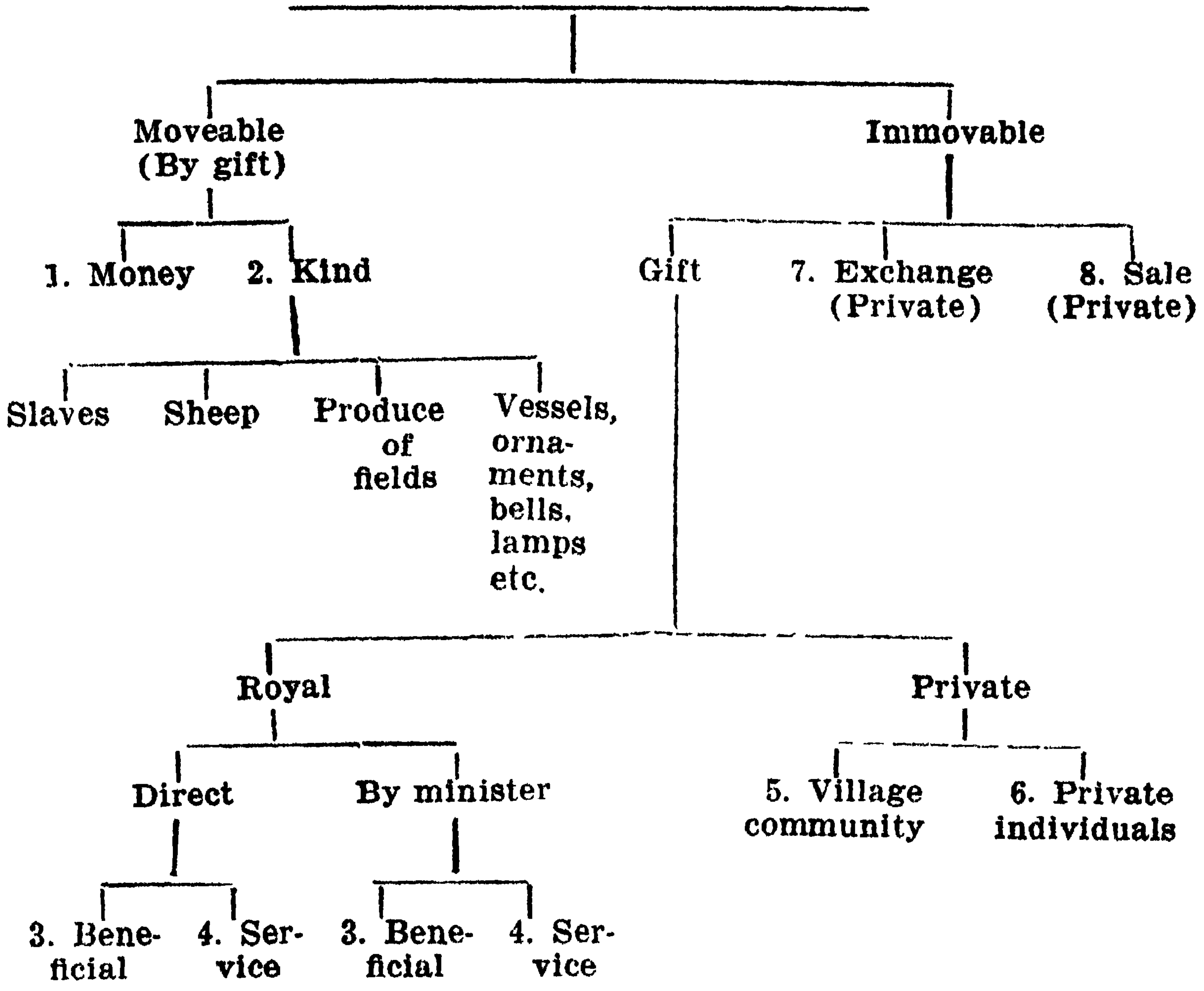
[32]Quoted in *Ep. Car.*, II, p. 69.

I propose to treat these two separately. For

1. Inscriptions which record transfer of property.

the sake of clearness the following sub-divisions can be marked in the first class:—

TRANSFER OF PROPERTY



They thus fall into eight large groups. To fully work out the value of these will be the task of the economic inscriptions—a fact which confirms what is established will be confined to pointing out in general terms the evidential value of each class.

Gifts of money.

Gifts of money to temples are numerous in the records of the south, they were made for various objects: the maintenance of services in temples, festivals monthly, annual or

occasional, the feeding of Brahmans and improvements of tanks. Some of these objects themselves are valuable from the economic point of view, as from them we get an insight into the large part played by private benevolence in irrigation, poor relief etc. But this by itself does not constitute their claim for consideration at the hands of the economic historian. They sometimes help to establish the relation between the various coins in the country, a relation which, in some cases, we have no other means of knowing. No. 239 of the *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State* gives us the relations between *pon* and *kaḷañju* expressed thus:

'Records a gift of 15 *pon*=15 *kaḷañju* of gold for maintaining an ever-burning lamp (*nondā-viḷakku*) in the temple at Gōkarṇam.'

This inscription by itself, however, cannot be considered conclusive. Here, as elsewhere, the value of the inscriptions results more from the way in which they all work in, one with the others. If, e.g., from other inscriptions[33] we are able to note the value of the *kaḷañju,* the intrinsic value of the coin *pon* of the particular period becomes established. It is noteworthy in this connexion that gifts of gold coins occur more largely than those of silver in South Indian inscriptions—a fact which confirms what is established by other evidence, that the currency of South India was largely of gold.

Again some of these inscriptions state the source from which the gift-money was obtained and incidentally establish a relation between money and certain

[33] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 3, 176, 194 and 197 of 1910. *A.R.E.*, 1916, part II, paras 8 and 12.

commodities. An inscription from Pudukkōṭṭai state[34] e.g. records a gift of gold for a lamp in the temple out of the amount realised by the sale of cows given by donors.

Again gifts of gold when made to the temple are sometimes expected to be invested as capital, only the interest being allowed to be spent on the particular services concerned, and thus incidentally we get the rates of interest. An inscription of the 3rd year of the Cōḷa king Rājēndra[35] records that the temple authorities received 25 *kaḻañju* of gold from an inhabitant of Aimbūṇi under the condition that the interest should be applied for the feeding of a learned Brahman and other purposes. The rates of interest then follow. Numerous inscriptions of the kind, when collected and classified, enable us to make out a reliable record of the rates of interest in some cases almost from decade to decade. Such a list is of significance as an index to the degree of security in the country at the time. Besides rates of interest, such records[36] also mention the persons or communities with whom such gift money was deposited, the time of reckoning and the conditions of the contract.

Some gifts of money are of invaluable help in determining prices in mediaeval times. For, the donor of money to the temple is not satisfied with stating the sum of money endowed by him, but he must needs specify the various offerings and other requirements of the deity, and of his consort, whose blessings he seeks, and in speci-

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[34] *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 44.
[35] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 55.
[36] 262, 263, 267, 268 of 1910.

fying the requirements, he gives their equivalents in money. Some of these documents[37] are so detailed in giving the exact money equivalents of the various food-stuffs that they will compare very favourably with a carefully drawn up family budget of to-day. Incidentally, we also come to know the medium and the ratio of exchange for different articles at the time when the records were engraved. It is a noteworthy fact that while most articles were exchanged for paddy at the beginning of the eleventh century, camphor could be purchased only for money. This fact is also confirmed by those inscriptions[38] which mention rates of interest, for the money endowed for provision of camphor in temples was invariably lent out at money interest. With this starting-point, it may be possible to find out, by classifying the inscriptions, when money came into more general use for the purchase of commodities in different parts of the country.

Gifts in kind.

Gifts in kind took the form of slaves, animals like sheep or oxen, produce of the fields, vessels and ornaments useful for the gods, and saltpans. At first sight these gifts seem unimportant, but on careful consideration they testify to certain important features of mediaeval life. Slavery as an institution has now gone out of man's memory, but its existence in mediaeval times is testified to by inscriptions. Sometimes the temple also purchased slaves. An inscription[39] from the Tanjore district

[37] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 6 and 26.

[38] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 9 and 26.

[39] 228 of 1917.

gives a list of slaves, both male and female, numbering more than 100 persons owned by the temple having been made over to it by an order of the king by purchase from several persons and by gifts from private individuals. In many inscriptions, the work in which the temples employed slaves is also stated. Husking paddy,[40] washing clothes[41] and looking after the lamps[42] were some of the kinds of work allotted to slaves.

Gifts of sheep or oxen throw light on the economy of the temple of those days; they also sometimes express the purchasing power of money in terms of sheep or oxen. An inscription[43] of Pudukkōṭṭai of 996 A.D. records a gift of 12 buffaloes of the value of 20 *pon* (*kaḷañju*); No. 86 of 1920 equates one sheep with 48 *kāśu.*

The gifts of temple utensils and ornaments enable us to study the condition of certain industries during the period. The Tanjore inscriptions show that the art of making ornaments of gold and precious stones must have reached a very advanced stage in the Cōḷa country in the 11th and 12th Centuries A.D. Some ornaments which are mentioned in the gifts to the Tanjore temple do not appear to have any representatives in modern South Indian jewel shops e.g. *Śōnagaccidukkinkūḍu.*[44]

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[40]122 of 1912.

[41]578 of 1916.

[42]248 of 1916.

[43]*Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State,* 135.

[44]Venkayya, *South Ind. Inscr.,* II, *Intro.,* p. 16 and n. 4; Inscription No. 93.

The value of the inscriptions which record transfer of movable property thus consists in the light they throw on the medium of exchange and its purchasing power, the rate of interest, the existence and nature of slavery in its economic aspect, and the condition of certain industries.

These facts, valuable as they are, do not cover all aspects of economic life. The life of the village community working, earning and spending should be presented with some clearness before we can have a picture of mediaeval life in its true perspective. The inscriptions of the second class—those which record the transfer of immovable property—introduce us to this aspect of the subject. For the most part those took the form of gifts of land to gods, to priests on behalf of temples and to charitable institutions and to Brahmans. Land was the one great commodity in the middle ages which was most desired as an article of gift. Dr. Burnell has shown the reason for the great popularity of such land-gifts with the kings. 'In the South Indian inscription—literature', says he, 'gifts take the place of the sacrifices which, according to the epic poems, Indian kings used to have performed in order to attain their objects.'[45] It was, besides, convenient to the donor, whether king, or village community, or the rich private individual, for they had land in plenty. Land was also welcome to the donee, for the possession of land gave him a status in society and enabled him to meet almost all the wants of mediaeval household economy, directly

Inscriptions which record transfer of immovable property.

Gifts of land.

Why so common.

[45]Burnell, *South Indian Palaeography*, p. 94.

or indirectly. The great jurist of the time, Vijñānēśvara, comes in with his learned opinion, associating such gifts with great religious merit: 'Attainment of a place in heaven is the fruit of gifts of land.' The reward of attaining heaven by given lands etc. does not preclude other rewards also following the giving of these things.[46] Because it has been declared that other rewards also accrue by the giving of these things, and he draws the attention of the men of his day to the saying of Manu, 'whatever sin is committed by an individual, knowingly or unknowingly is cleared by the gift of land even of the extent of a cow's hide'.[47]

Form of grants.

The form of grants as a rule followed certain well-marked principles laid down in Hindu law books, for, as documents conveying the right to property, they were to be legally valid.[48] Generally, i. the donor's genealogy in the case of royal grants,[49] or the name of the ruling king in private grants, ii. the person or the people to whom the gift was made,[50] the description of the nature of the grant, including its boundaries and its conditions,[51] its date, and

[46] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, i, 210. *Svargaphalam ca bhūmi dānādinām na phalāntaravyudāsārtham.*

[47] *Yatkimcit kurute pāpam jñānatō' jñānatōpi vā, Api gōcarma mātrēṇa bhūmi dānēna śudhyati*, Manu, *Dharma Sāstra*, iv. 229, Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, i, 210.

[48] Burnell, *South Indian Palaeography*, pp. 95 ff.

[49] *Atmano vamśyān prapitāmaha pitāmaha pitṛn*, Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, i, 319.

[50] *Ca sabdāt pratigrahītāram*—Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, i, 319.

[51] *Pratigrahaparimāṇam dānacchēdōpavarṇanam cābhilēkhya pratigṛhyata iti pratigraho nibandhas tasya rūpakādiparimāṇam dīyata iti dānam kṣētrādi tasya chedaḥ chidyate 'nene' ti cchedaḥ nadyāvātau nivartanam tat parimāṇam ca tasyopavarṇanam.* Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, i, 320.

time,[52] iii. imprecations on violations of the grant, and iv. the name of the person who drew up the document, and attestations of witnesses, were the clauses inserted in grants.

The political history of South India has been reconstructed mainly with the help of the first of these clauses in the grants, the economic history of the country is yet to be worked up, partly with the aid of details given in the second.

Their value varies

Their value in this connexion varies with the grantor, the grantee and the thing granted, and it is useful to remember this distinction in what follows. Lands may be granted by the king, the village community, or a private individual. Lands may be granted to institutions like temples and houses of charity or private individuals. They may be conferred with or without the condition of certain services attached to the grant; the benefit conferred may be a whole village or only some lands therein, while the value of the benefit itself may vary according as only the assessment of revenue has been alienated or the proprietorship thereof.

Royal grants.

When the sovereign grants land in favour of religious and charitable institutions or of individuals, the presumption is that it conveys only his right to the grantee. This right might be two-fold: i. the right to receive the royal share of the produce; in this case the rights of other persons in the soil such as village landholders, permanent

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[52] *Kālēna ca dvividhēna śakanṛpātīta rūpēṇa samvatsara rūpēṇa ca kālēna candra sūryōparāgādinā,* Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, i, 320.

tenants, village officers and of persons holding by previous grants remained unaffected by the grant. In some cases, the last was specified in the grant itself.[53] The bulk of royal grants took the form of such alienations of land revenue to the grantee.

ii. When it was intended to give the grantee the proprietorship of the soil it was acquired by purchase[54] or exchange[55] and made over to the grantee, or provision was made for such purchase;[56] or the state was itself in possession of it as in the case of unoccupied waste lands[57] or of lands made available to the state by surrender or abandonment by the occupier, or which had been confiscated by the state;[58] or it was the property of the sovereign in his personal capacity,[59] corresponding to the crown or demesne lands of English kings in the middle ages.

The wording of the documents has given room for interesting judicial interpretations as to whether a particular grant was meant to alienate only the assignment of revenue or of proprietorship of land, and the recent decisions of the Madras and Bombay High Courts[60] make interesting reading, and convey valuable hints regarding the different kinds of right conveyed

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[53] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 76.

[54] *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, 22; V, 24; 100 of 1926.

[55] 100 of 1926, *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 205.

[56] 19 of 1923.

[57] *Nellore Inscriptions*, I, p. 478.

[58] 100 of 1926.

[59] *South Ind. Inscr.*, V, 409, 27 of 1924, Taylor, *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, I, p. 39.

[60] Bom. H.C.R. (a.c.j.) 191; 23 M.L.J. 687, 728; 28 Mad. 539. Quoted in Sundararaja Iyengar, *Land Tenures*, pp. 96, 97, 102.

by such grants. For our purpose, it is sufficient to note that these two broad divisions existed and their value as sources for economic history varies accordingly. From the first class of documents,[61] we are able to get valuable information regarding the taxation by Hindu kings in the middle ages. The king specifies in great detail his income from the villages which he transfers to the grantee, consisting of the assessment on land and on the professional classes, tolls and other income from the village, which are specified in detail. In some cases,[62] they also state whether they were to be paid in kind or in money.

i. Assignments of revenue.

Indirectly, they throw light on the distribution of certain industries in the country, for it must be remembered that industries were generally taxed and such taxation terms in the grants are worth careful study on this account. It is a significant fact that taxes on iron are mentioned in the inscriptions of the Bangalore district.[63] The loom tax, *maggadere* in Canarese and *tari-irai* in Tamil[64] and the tax on oil mills[65] are fairly common in inscriptions and as such they must have been wide-spread industries. Pottery was another such. The tax on tailors found in inscriptions[66] of the

Industries and occupations.

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61 *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 139.

62 *South Ind. Inscr.*, I, 64.

63 *Ep. Car.*, XII, Gubbi 45.

64 *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 22.

65 *Sekkiṛai*, *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, p. 117.

66 *Ep. Car.*, V, Bēlūr 236; *Ep. Car.*, VII, Shikārpur 112 (1139 A.D.), *Chippiga gottaḷigaḷ*, (groups of tailors).

12th century shows that tailoring as an occupation was not unknown at the time. In this respect, as in some other instances,[67] inscriptions have a corrective value: they help to correct the impressions left in us by the records of foreign travellers, which in some cases are not quite accurate. An illustration may be found in the tradition of the nakedness of the south which can be traced through various writers onwards from the beginning of the fourteenth century when John of Montecorvino wrote[68] that tailors were not required, as the people went naked, and Nikitin and Barbosa appear to substantiate this statement.[69] While this was probably true in some parts of the country, inscriptions remind us that we must accept such statements with caution.

It is sometimes possible with the aid of these inscriptions even to locate the cultivation of particular crops. '*Āledere*', a tax on sugar-cane mills, is found in the inscriptions of Mysore.[70]

Internal trade.

The list of taxes includes tolls, and a glance at the tolls which are specified with great care gives us some idea of the internal trade of the time. An inscription[71] of Dorasamudra tells us that in 1136 on all things

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[67] *Infra*, p. 31.

[68] 1306 A.D., Second letter of John of Montecorvino, Yule, *Cathay*, III, p. 57, Moreland (*India*, p. 274) seems to attach too much weight to the evidence.

[69] 1470 A.D., Nikitin, Major, *India*, p. 12, 1515 A.D., Barbosa, *An Account*, II, p. 7.

[70] 1171 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, III, Maṇḍya 31; *Ep. Car.*, X. Kōlār 51, 1339 A.D.

[71] *Ep. Car.*, V. Bēlūr 117.

brought into the town for sale on asses a duty of one *bēḷe* i.e., ⅛ of a *paṇa* was imposed while things brought on bullocks were taxed at ¼ of a *paṇa* and on carts at ⅜ of a *paṇa*.[72] The rates must have varied according to the carrying capacity of the respective carriers. This, however, shows that in the locality mentioned, asses, bullocks and carts were actually used for transport in the 12th century. The point is of some importance as it helps to illustrate what we termed the corrective value of the inscriptions. Foreign travellers did not perhaps come across wheeled carriages in the localities they passed through, and so they remark[73] that there were no wheeled carriages below the Vindhyas. This statement has been accepted by scholars as a historical truth.[74] It is sufficient to remark that inscriptions correct such notions.

ii. Grants conveying proprietorship.

Royal grants conveying proprietorship raise the much debated question of the state ownership of land.[75] Where waste unoccupied land was granted by the king to a new settlement of colonists, or to temples and individuals, no mention of any purchase is made, which tends to show that all such waste land belonged to the king; but where occupied cultivated land which did not belong to the state was granted, mention is made[76] either of exchange or of purchase. Such grants also give us an

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[72]For other examples, see 18 of 1915, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 230, *Ep. Car.*, IV, Huṇsūr 137.

[73]Ibn Batuta (Lee), p. 167.

[74]Padmanabha Pillai, *Economic Conditions*, p. 17.

[75]Wilks, *Historical Sketches*, I, pp. 65—123, Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, p. 209.

[76]100 of 1926, *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, 22.

insight into the founding of villages and their economic system, for, with the foundation of such villages, they specify the allotment of lands among the colonists and the village servants and other connected matters which are invaluable to a proper understanding of the rural economy of the time. They also give us some ideas on the conception of ownership of the time.[77] The different kinds of tenures and their conditions are also partially studied from royal grants, but they are best learnt from private grants, to which we now turn our attention.

Service grants.

These private documents are some, gifts, some sales. As in the case of royal grants, the name of the donor must be stated. The donor may be a collective body,[78] the community acting together, or the private individual. In some cases where a private individual made a grant, he purchased it from a collective body.[79] This part of the document tells us, therefore, that collective ownership of property existed at the time; it is significant that we meet with such instances only in certain parts of the country and a careful analysis of the inscriptions will be of great value to a correct understanding of the distribution of such communal villages in the middle ages, and a further enquiry into the origin of such villages will help to explain the distribution. Together with the documents which record sales of land, these gifts by private agency are our best source

Private grants
i. gifts.

[77] *Ep. Car.*, III, Maḷavaḷḷi 95, 105.

[78] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 162, 359 of 1917, 206 of 1925.

[79] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 53, 375 of 1903.

for a proper study of the communal villages of the south.

The mention of grants and sales by private individuals without any record of the consent of a collective body points to the existence of individual ownership of property alongside of the communal. It is also a factor to be taken into account in estimating the extent of collective property.

Some of the private grants are gifts of land made with the condition of services attached; where such land was or had been granted by the village community, the services were what we may term public services for the villages e.g. the service of keeping channels and other irrigation works in proper repair, the service of collecting ryots for customary labour, of writing accounts, of guarding the crops and assisting in measuring them, of making implements of husbandry for all, etc. These along with many others of the same kind enable us to get an idea of the different tenures by which land was held at the time, the method of payment for services and the relative standard of life of such servants, estimated in terms of the area of the land held by them.

ii. Sales of land.

The sales of land also throw light on the value of land at the time in different parts of the country, and a comparison with its value to-day ought to enable us to estimate with some clearness the place of land in the economy of the middle ages.

2. Agreements.

The second large group of epigraphs consists of agreements among communities. In the middle ages, the corporate spirit was

apparently more in evidence than at the present day and found expression in corporate activities. These had taken root in the minds of the people because they were grafted on the spontaneous groupings of the people themselves, whether these were groupings by community of religious belief, by vocation, or by neighbourhood. The first of these may seem to be outside our province, but we may be permitted to observe that though drawn together by force of religious belief, such associations touched at some points the secular activities of the people. The *gaṇas* and the *sanghas* which we find mentioned, for example, in the inscriptions at Śravaṇa Beḷgoḷa, Mysore, drew to themselves lay disciples, of whom the chief were merchants. Lay membership of the *Dēsiya gaṇa* was one of the common bonds of the jewel merchants of Beḷgoḷa.[80]

Vocational.

If the religious *gaṇa* had a secular aspect, the vocational gild was not without its religious side. But the *raison d'etre* of the vocational gild was to draw into a common fold those who followed the same occupation. How far the gild was co-terminous with the caste is a question which requires a special study. Here it may be observed that the most common of such associations of those engaged in similar occupations were those of merchants,[81] of weavers,[82] of the *Kaṇmāḷars* or the five castes of skilled artificers,[83] and the gilds of gardeners and oil mongers.[84]

[80] *Ep. Car.*, II, 64, 65, 66.
[81] *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 13; XVIII, p. 199, 256 of 1912; 342 of 1912.
[82] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 190.
[83] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, p. 46, 151 of 1905.
[84] *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 277, 261 of 1909.

And their agreements which are recorded in inscriptions are the only contemporary evidence we have regarding the nature of their organization and the functions which they discharged and the methods they adopted to get their common regulations obeyed. The evidence under this head is more qualitative than quantitative, for we do not get the number of members of all gilds, the number of members who were punished for disobedience of common regulations and such other statistical information which would have added to their value, but even as it is, they are valuable as giving us some idea of the gilds and their influence on the economic life of the people. Incidentally such epigraphs also furnish valuable data regarding the articles of trade, the direction and means of internal transport, tolls and other matters relating to internal trade. The activities of the gilds being centred in what we may term urban areas as contrasted with the rural, the inscriptions which record them are the primary source for the understanding of the economic life of the towns, just as the inscriptions which record transfer of property give us an insight into the life of the village community.

Agreements of neighbouring landholders.

In the rural area, these agreements are of neighbouring landholders. The subject-matter of their agreements is naturally connected with land. The periodical redistribution of land in places where the custom existed,[85] the provision of facilities for

[85] *Ep. Car.*, VI, Kadūr 132, *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State* 112, *Ep. Car.*, V, Channarāyapaṭṇa 170, 411 of 1912, *Ep. Car.*, VI, Tarikere 53.

irrigating fields such as agreeing to renovate a tank,[86] the regulation of a fair assessment on land in case royal officers appeared unfair,[87] are some of the subjects which brought them together, besides the making of gifts to temples or holy and learned persons. Such common meetings, besides enabling them to regulate those affairs which touched all, helped them to be self-reliant, to understand one another better and to keep up the corporate feeling of the village. Needless to say such agreements are invaluable to a proper understanding of the every-day life of the village community.

Limitations of the inscriptions.

We have discussed the value of inscriptions at some length, because they present great variety in their contents and hence are of varying value as sources for economic history. Inscriptions by themselves, however, do not give a complete picture of mediaeval life; they are specially wanting in information concerning industry and commerce, and hence they require to be supplemented by contemporary literature. It is fitting to conclude this part of our subject with one caution regarding the use of inscriptions. Chronology and geography have aptly been called the two eyes of history. The lack of chronological precision is fatal to historical perspective; the lack of attention to the geographical location of particular happenings similarly produces an appearance of uniformity which may be far from the truth. The tendency to combine information from diverse

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[86] 199 of 1922, 200 of 1923.

[87] *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 922, 59 of 1914.

sources, separated widely in time and space has to be avoided if we are to note any signs of change or growth in institutions. This is possible only by carefully limiting our observations to the time and place indicated by the inscriptions themselves.

ii. Coins.

Coins are of exceptional interest in a study of economic affairs. We are not only concerned with the inscriptions on them, but with the weight and content of the coins themselves. This enables us to determine with some accuracy the intrinsic value of mediaeval South Indian coins. It has been noted earlier[88] that inscriptions on stone and copper sometimes mention the weight of the coins. The actual coins which have been collected by antiquarians and been photographed and published[89] enable us to verify the information about coins contained in inscriptions and contemporary travellers' accounts. Some of these are the *Accu,*[90] *Akkam,*[91] *Denari,*[92] *Drachma,*[93] *Dārham,*[94] *Faṇam,*[95] *Gadyāṇa,*[96] *Pāga,*[97] *Honnu,*[98] *Īḷakkāśu,*[99] *Jītal,*[100]

[88] supra, p. 21.

[89] See List of Authorities for a list of the published series on coins.

[90] *Ind. Ant.*, XXVI, p. 145; 117 and 123 of 1915. *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 20.

[91] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 6.

[92] *Trav. Arch. Series*, II, 2.

[93] 284 of 1923 (*diramam*), 280 of 1910.

[94] *Arch. Surv. of India*, V, p. 156.

[95] *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 40; 'Abdu-r Razzāk, Elliot, *History*, IV, p. 109.

[96] *Ep. Car.*, V, Hassan 135.

[97] *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 267.

[98] *Ep. Car.*, III, Tirumakūḍal-Narsīpūr 27.

[99] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 106.

[100] 'Abdu-r Razzāk, Elliot, *History*, IV, p. 109.

Kākiṇi,[101] *Kāṇam*,[102] *Kaḷañju*,[103] *Kāśu*,[104] *Māḍai*,[105] *Niṣka*,[106] *Varāha*,[107] *Paṇam*,[108] *Pon*,[109] *Rūpaka*,[110] *Suvarṇa*,[111] *Tār*.[112]

By rendering them all to the weight in grains of copper, silver or gold, we can usefully compare their intrinsic value with that of modern coins and their relative purchasing power wherever we have mention also of prices of commodities in terms of coins.[113]

iii. Chronicles and Histories.

The third source of information is contemporary chronicles and histories or those compiled from contemporary chronicles no longer available.[114] These were either native or foreign. Native chroniclers in this period are chiefly Mahomedan. It is to be noted that

[101]The *Līlāvatī* quoted in *Ep. Car.*, IV, p. 31.

[102] 202 of 1915, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 8.

[103]218 of 1911.

[104]*Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 202.

[105]*South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 66.

[106]*South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 104.

[107]*Ep. Ind.*, VIII, p. 132, l. 28.

[108]439 of 1913.

[109] 172 of 1916, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 60.

[110]*Ind. Ant.*, XI, *pp.* 337-40.

[111]*Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 41.

[112] 'Abdu-r Razzāk, Elliot, *History*, IV, p. 109.

[113]*South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 54. *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 6 8, etc. 506 of 1905. *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 135. *Ep. Car.*, VI, Kaḍūr 49. *Ep. Car.*, III, Tirumakūḍal-Narsīpūr 97.

[114]Ferishta, e.g., mentions in the Introduction to his work the names of 35 chronicles from which he has compiled his famous work and besides in the body of the work he quotes 20 others. Ferishta, *History*, I, Introduction, p. xlix.

Native.

Mahomedan historical chronicles that have anything to do with South India date only from the 13th century, after the Dekhan had come within the sphere of Mahomedan influence. They have their defects: the social side of history is not contemplated by them; in notices of commerce and agriculture they are deficient. But though it is true that, in general, the Mahomedan historical works partake more or less of the character of biographies and are rather chronicles of the deeds of kings than of the institutions of the people, the careful student cannot yet neglect them. For some data can be gathered from them in facts, incidents and traits of manners, many of which being casually introduced are thereby to be regarded as the most valuable kind of evidence.

Of historical works written by Hindu authors of repute, we may note here the *Vikramānka-dēva-carita* in Sanskrit, the *Kalingattupparaṇi*, the *Vikrama-Cōḷan-ulā, Kulōttunga-Cōḷan-ulā, Kulōttunga-Cōḷan-Piḷḷai-tamiḻ* and the *Rājarāja-Cōḷan-ulā*. The first was the work of Bilhaṇa who was the *vidyāpati* of Vikramāditya. It deals with the achievements of the Western Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya VI of Kalyāṇi (A.D. 1076-1126). The *Kalingattupparaṇi* is by Jayamkoṇḍar and deals chiefly with the invasion of Kalinga by Karunākara Toṇḍaimān. The others were all the works of the great Tamil bard Oṭṭakūttan. As implied by their names these poems relate to Vikrama-Cōḷa, Kulōttunga II and Rājarāja II. The *Takka-yāgapparaṇi*, is a minor poem from the pen of the same author. These are all incidentally useful for some

notices of details of customs which aid in estimating the standard of life of the time.

Foreign.

The place of honour among foreign chroniclers[115] must indeed be given to Alberuni who came in the train of Mahmud of Ghazni. From 1017-1030 he 'stayed in different parts of India as a companion of the princes of his native country,' and made a thorough study of the whole life of the Indians, and produced the justly famous '*Tahkik-i Hind*' (An Enquiry into India.)[116] His work has the great quality of truth about it: "He is a stern judge both of himself and of others. Himself perfectly sincere, it is sincerity which he demands from others. Whenever he does not fully understand a subject, or only knows part of it, he will at once tell the reader so, either asking the reader's pardon for his ignorance, or promising, though a man of fifty-eight years, to continue his labours and to publish their results in time, as though he were acting under a moral responsibility to the public," and his book may be accepted as a reliable record of the condition of India at the beginning of the eleventh century. We have, however, no positive evidence to show that he was directly acquainted with conditions in South India. Hence his statements in relation to the country have

[115] Under this head we include the accounts written by professed historians and biographers or those who came out to the country as ambassadors or merchants and recorded their experiences in the form of a chronicle. It is difficult to distinguish them from the accounts of travellers, which partake of the nature of chronicles; but a dividing line may be found in the circumstance that travellers generally record experiences of other lands as well, while chroniclers limit their observations to this country or, like Chau Ju-Kua, to the subject they have chosen.

[116] Alberuni, *India*, p. xx.

been used here only when they have been confirmed by other evidence.

Four centuries pass before we get another distinguished historian, also from beyond the Hindu-kush. 'Abdu-r Razzāk was born at Herat in 1413. His interest in India was that of an ambassador at Vijayanagar where he was sent by his master Sultan Shah Rukh. He appears to have stayed in the South of India for nearly two years from June 1442 to February 1444, and narrated his experiences here, as part of his book, the *Matla'-us Sadain.* The great value of his work has been generally recognised; Quatremere says of it[117] that it is incontestably one of the most curious and veracious histories that have been written in any of the Eastern languages. From him we get much that is valuable, particularly on the currency, prices, and standard of life in South India in the middle of the 15th century.

In the next century we have two important chronicles by Portuguese merchants who stayed at Vijayanagar, Paes and Nuniz. Their accounts written about 1520 and 1537 respectively are invaluable as contemporary descriptions of urban life in South India in the early years of the sixteenth century and of her foreign trade. Two other Portuguese accounts fall within our period: the Commentaries of Alfonso D'Albuquerque, and '*the Decadas*' of Barros 1552-1563. These accounts are specially noteworthy as exhibiting the beginning of the great changes in Indian commerce that followed the discovery of the Cape route to India.

[117]Quoted in Elliot, *History*, IV, p. 93.

Towards the end of our period, we have the *'Colloquies on the Simples and Drugs of India'* by Garcia Da Orta who came to India in 1534.

One work in this class stands by itself. *Chu-fan-chi* a work on the Chinese and Arab trade in the 12th and 13th centuries by Chau Ju-Kua. We know nothing concerning the author beyond the simple fact that he was the Inspector of foreign trade in Fukien, in China, about the middle of the thirteenth century. As throwing light on mediaeval trade with China, his notes compete successfully with those of Marco Polo, and the early Arab and Chinese travellers.

iv. Foreign travellers.

Our foreign chronicles thus relate mainly to the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries; their value consists in the contemporary descriptions they give of the standard of life in the country and her foreign trade. This latter, coupled with the allied subject of industries, is even more distinctly the contribution of foreign travellers many of whom were apparently much interested in these subjects. The list[118] includes men from different parts of the word. The Arab geographers come earlier, in point of time, from the ninth century to the end of the thirteenth. The tale is taken up, as it were by William Rubruck and Marco Polo in the thirteenth century, and continued by Odoric, Jordanus, Ibn Batuta, Johann Schiltberger, and an anonymous Spanish friar in the fourteenth, Mahuan, Conti, and Nikitin in the fifteenth and Varthema and Barbosa in the early years of the sixteenth. The merit

[118]See List of Authorities.

of their evidence is two-fold: first, they enlighten us on urban occupations and foreign trade which the indigenous sources like inscriptions do not and cannot from their nature be expected to deal with; secondly, by their vivid descriptions of life in neighbouring countries as well, they help us to bring to bear a wider comparative outlook on a study of our problems; generally they did not confine their travels to South India, but travelled through upper India, and even into the Far-east. Their accounts show great powers of observation. Some of them had also the advantage of a fairly long residence in the country. Barbosa was for many years a writer engaged in business on the Malabar coast, and his knowledge of Malayalam gave him an understanding of the people. Ibn Batuta stayed for two years, Odoric three. But they have their limitations. All of them had not the advantage of a long stay in the country; their direct observation, generally speaking, was confined to the coastal regions or where they stayed in the interior it was generally in big towns like Vijayanagar, and their statements regarding the countryside were obviously made from a passing notice or from hearsay. The result is that while from them we get much that is valuable regarding urban life and industries and foreign trade, they do not help us very much in understanding the rural economy of the time for which we have to turn to indigenous sources.

v. Tradition.

Tradition as a source for economic history has to be used with caution, for it is difficult precisely to date the traditional

accounts. For South India, the chief collection has been what is generally known as the Mackenzie Manuscripts. Among the various kinds of manuscripts collected for Colonel Mackenzie during the years 1796-1817 one is headed 'Local Tracts'[119] from Tamil and Telugu districts, Mysore, the Canara Coast, Malabar and Maratha districts. Different kinds of information are preserved in these documents—accounts of industries, of trade, of traditions concerning the origin of particular castes like the Devangas, of settlements of colonists in newly founded villages, of internal migration, and of revenue settlements of ancient and mediaeval governments. On page xx. of the catalogue, however, occurs the following note:—

'Local tracts......... (These consist of) short accounts......of particular places, remarkable buildings, local traditions and peculiar usages, *prepared in general expressly for Col. Mackenzie by his native agents or obtained* by them on their excursions.'[119a] Some of these no doubt have been compiled from the original contemporary records. The documents, where this is expressly stated, and which are properly dated, are readily useful. There are others like the '*Kongu Dēśa Rājākkaḷ,*'[120] which bear internal evidence of having been for the most part compiled from contemporaneous grants. In other cases, much labour has to be spent in fixing the authenticity of

[119] Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, II, pp. i—cxvii. e.g. p. lxxviii, Mysur XX, 2, Revenue settlement of *Rayas* for the district of Honahalli copied from the original *Kadettum* record preserved in the hands of village *shanabogs* at Honahalli.

[119a] Wilson, op. cit., I, p. xx.

[120] Taylor, *Chronicle;* Le Fanu, *Salem*, I, p. 13.

the tradition, before it can become material in the hands of the historian.

vi. Literary works.

The next source of reliable information regarding economic conditions is obtained from ordinary literary works under which head we may include those works which have no specialised character like historical poems or those which are not devoted to technical subjects like agriculture, or the writings of jurists. The '*Periya-purāṇam*' by Śekkiḻār, the '*Prabandhacintāmaṇi*' by Mērutunga and the '*Acyuta-Rāyābhyudayam*' by Rājanātha are works of a non-specialised nature. They, obviously, treat of different subject-matter. The first, for example, treats of the Śaiva saints of the South, the second was composed to edify the Jain community to convince them of the glory and power of the Jain religion. But they are useful for the incidental references to conditions of their time which they unconsciously and, therefore, the more truly, portray.

vii. Works on technical subjects.

Works on technical subjects include one on agriculture and two on geometry. '*Ērelupadu*' a poem composed by Kambar may be assigned to the twelfth century.[121] The poem is ostensibly in praise of the plough—'Seventy stanzas on the plough'. The method of the poet in praising the plough is to describe the function of each part of the plough and incidentally the process of agriculture. On the whole, this gives us a

[121] Opinions differ as to the date of Kambar, some scholars assigning him to the tenth century. The question need not be discussed here as there can be hardly any difference of opinion regarding the main fact—that Kambar's descriptions represent actual conditions of agriculture in the early middle ages.

fair picture of the method of cultivation followed by the South Indian peasant in Kambar's time. The works on geometry referred to are the *Kṣētra Gaṇita* and *Vyavahāra Gaṇita* by Rājāditya. Their main value is the table they give of weights and measures in use in the Kanarese country in the twelfth century.

viii. Works of jurists.

This sketch of the sources will not be complete without taking into account the works on Hindu law which appeared during this period. The age of the Smṛtis had given place to the age of the commentaries and digests. The most important of the former, Vijñānēśvara wrote his commentary on Yāgñavalkya Smṛti at Kalyān, a place near Bedar in the Daulatabad district of the Nizam's territory in the time of King Vikramāditya VI 1076-1127 A.D. Devaṇṇa Bhaṭṭa compiled the *Smṛti Candrikā* which is dated about 1200—as it quotes Aparārka and is quoted by Hēmādri[122] in the *Caturvargacintāmaṇi* about the latter half of the thirteenth century. Mādhava wrote his commentary on the Parāśara Smṛti *the Parāśarasmṛti vyākhyā* while he was minister of Bukka I, the King of Vijayanagar.

In the arrangement of their matter the commentators and the compilers follow the usual order of the Smṛtis. They divide their book into the three time-honoured divisions the *ācāra*, the *vyavahāra* and the *prāyaścitta*. Moral and legal injunctions are blended together. In fact what we get from them is a mixture of law, morality and religion. The separation of law

[122] Jolly, *Hindu Law*, p. 75.

from religion and morals had not proceeded very far; from our point of view the blending is important, because from it we get an insight into the ideas of the time regarding economic life. There is, however, one notable difference between the older Smṛtis and the later commentaries. The space devoted to the discussion of secular law, *'vyavahāra'*, dealing with economic topics is comparatively larger in the commentaries.

The great merit of the later day commentaries is that, under colour of interpretation, they have aided in reconciling the precepts of Smṛtis with the differences in custom which were bound to arise with the change of time and locality. They no doubt interpreted the text according to their own view of right and wrong, but these views were formed in accordance with the current public opinion, which they had ample opportunity of gauging. As Mitter puts it well, "It was the reflection of this general sentiment of right which found expression in their writings. ......They twisted and tortured a text of the Smṛti according to their own view of justice and practical utility, and these views were but the expression of the general sentiment of the people living in the particular tract where the commentator lived and flourished."[123] In other words these treatises embody what economic thought there was at the time, and their discussions of questions like a fair wage or interest, obviously based on actual institutions, furnish a clue to the economic relations of contemporary society. Needless to say, the ideal was what was *considered* best by the leaders of thought in

[123] Mitter, *Women in Hindu Law*, p. 24.

the community and not necessarily what was followed in practice. The student of economic history must take into account such ideas even though they help him only to draw the line between theory and practice.

ix. Later state papers.

Some information is also to be gleaned from books and state papers of a later time, which are valuable in so far as they incorporate information from contemporary sources relating to our period. Sir Thomas Munro's minutes call for special mention in this connexion. Wilks's *Historical Sketches* is equally noteworthy. It was based chiefly on Indian authorities collected by the author while officiating for several years as political Resident at the Court of Mysore. Some of the manuals of the districts[124] compiled at different times in the nineteenth century publish in the appendices a few grants and other contemporary documents which are no longer available for the service of the historian.

(3) THE LAND AND ITS PEOPLE

Terminology: South India—Ma'bar—Malabar—Limits of the region—Physical features—Natural regions—Elements of the population.

It is generally recognized that the natural environment of a country and its racial make-up are important factors which influence its economic evolution. And South India is no exception to the rule. We shall begin, therefore, with a brief description of the physical

[124] See Le Fanu, *Salem*, II, *Appendix*.

features of the country and the elements of its population.

Terminology: South India.

At the outset, however, it is useful to remember that the term 'South India' has not had the same significance through the ages. The classical name of Southern India is *Dakṣiṇāpatha*, "the Southern Region," from the first component of which name comes our term Deccan, Dekkan or Dekhan. This name has apparently been in use from very early times; the author of the Periplus calls[125] this portion of the country Dakshinabadēs. In the vernacular or Prākrit speech of the time, the Sanskrit Dakshiṇāpatha must have become *Dakshiṇābadha* or *Dakshiṇāvadha* by the usual rules, and the Greek writer must have derived his name from this popular pronunciation.[126] Varthema writing towards the end of our period in 1510 applies[127] the term "Decan" to the city of Bijapur: "In the sacred city of Decan, there reigns a king who is a Mahomedan" while seven years later Barbosa writes,[128] "Coming forth from this kingdom of Guzarate and following the Indian road along the coast, we come to the kingdom of Daquem which the Indians call Daquanil". In 1552 De Barros calls it Canara;[129] "He (Mahomed Shah) was so powerful that he now presumed to style himself king of Canara, giving it the

[125] Mc Crindle, *Periplus*, *Ind. Ant.*, VIII, p. 143, para 50.

[126] Bhandarkar, *Early History*, p. 1. For a fuller discussion see Kane, *Ancient Geography*, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XXIV, pp. 616—21.

[127] Varthema, *Travels*, p. 48.

[128] Barbosa, *An Account*, I, p. 158.

[129] De Barros, Dec. II. liv. V. Cap. 2 according to Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Deccan.

name of Decan. And the name is said to have been given to it from the combination of different nations contained in it, because Decanij in their language signifies 'mongrel'."

Particular parts of the country were also known by names which bear a different significance to-day. In the thirteenth century, the east coast comprising the districts of the Madras Presidency south of Nellore was called Maabar by Marco Polo[130] while some years later it is called Ma'bar by Wassāf.[131] It corresponds pretty nearly to the *Cōḻamaṇḍalam* or *Śōḻamaṇḍalam* found in the Tanjore inscriptions of the eleventh century A.D.,[132] a name which takes many forms later in the hands of foreigners—the *Ciormandel* of Varthema[133] and the Charamamdel or Chōrmaṇḍel of Barbosa[134] and the *Chūramaṇḍel* of Nuniz.[135] Marco Polo also refers[136] to the fact that Maabar was styled 'India the Greater', in his times, while a variation of the same 'Great India' is applied by Schiltberger[137] to the Malabar coast. This in its turn had also been called by various names. Originally the Kēraḷa of the Hindus, it becomes the *Malaināḍu* in the Tanjore inscriptions,[138] literally the country of moun-

Ma'bar.

Malabar.

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[130] 1292 A.D., Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 33.

[131] 1303 A.D., Wassāf, Elliot, *History*, III, p. 45. 1310, Amīr Khusrū, Elliot, *History*, III, p. 85.

[132] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 4.

[133] 1510 A.D., Varthema, *Travels*, p. 151.

[134] Barbosa, *An Account*, I, p. 184, II, p. 124 and p. 124 n.

[135] 1520 A.D., Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 301.

[136] Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 331.

[137] Schiltberger, *Bondage and Travels*, p. 61.

[138] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 1.

tains, is called Manibar in 1150,[139] in 1230, Malibar,[140] in 1298, Melibar,[141] in 1300, Malībār,[142] in 1322, Minibar,[143] in 1343, Mulaibar,[144] in 1348-49, Minubar,[145] and in 1420-30, Melibaria;[146] Barbosa in 1516 calls it by the modern name Malabar.[147]

In the present book, the term South India is used for *Dakṣiṇāpatha* or Dekhan, the peninsular portion of India.

Limits of the region.

Sanskrit Literature names as the dividing line between the *Dakṣiṇāpatha* and *Āryāvarta* or the *Uttarāpatha,* between Southern and Northern India, sometimes the Vindhya mountains and sometimes the river Narmada, which flowing closely along the south of the Vindhya range empties itself into the Gulf of Cambay near Broach in Gujarat, Bombay. The river seems on the whole to furnish the better dividing line of the two. But it does not extend any more than the range does all the way across India from sea to sea. And to complete the dividing line beyond the sources of the Narmada we have to follow the course of the two rivers, the Maniari and the Seonath which flow into the Mahānadi river and the Mahānadi itself which flows

[139] Al Idrīsī, Elliot, *History,* I, p. 90.

[140] Kazwīnī, in *Gildemeister,* 214, according to Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson,* s. v. Malabar.

[141] Odoric, Yule, *Cathay,* II, p. 132.

[142] Marco Polo, *Travels,* II, p. 389.

[143] Rashīdu-d Din, Elliot, *History,* I, p. 68.

[144] Ibn Batuta, Yule, *Cathay,* IV, p. 71.

[145] Marignolli, Yule, *Cathay,* III, p. 230.

[146] Conti, Major, *India,* pp. 17—18.

[147] Barbosa, *An Account,* II, p. 1.

into the Bay of Bengal near Cuttack in Orissa. 'Even so however we have only a somewhat rough dividing line'[148] between the historical Northern and Southern India, and the distinction must not be understood too strictly in connexion with the territories lying close to the north and south of the line sketched above.

Physical features.

Nearly the whole of the region is occupied by a plateau—'the great three-cornered upheaval which, abutting on the line of the Western Ghāts, slopes with comparatively regular and easy grades to the step formed by the Eastern Ghāts overlooking the Bay of Bengal.'[149]

Fringing the central sloping plateau on either side is a narrow strip of coast land which comprises the lowlands of Bombay on the west and of Madras on the east. Mountain ranges run northward from Cape Comorin along the western coast attaining an elevation in some parts of from 4,000 to nearly 9,000 feet. Ranges of hills follow also the general line of the east coast, but these as a rule are of lower elevation than the Western Ghāts.

The drainage of the peninsula is for the most part from west to east into the Bay of Bengal, the area of country drained by rivers running westward being only the narrow strip of territory between the Western Ghāts and the sea. As a rule, the country slopes gradually from the eastern base of the western mountain chain down to the Coromandel coast, while the fall is sudden

[148] Fleet, *Inscriptions*, *Encyclopaedia Brittanica*, (XI, Edition), Vol. XIV, p. 623.

[149] *Imperial Gazetteer*, I, p. 37.

and precipitous on the western side of the mountains. The centre of the peninsula consists generally of undulating table-lands from 1000 to 3000 feet above the level of the sea.

This peculiar physical geography of the peninsula with a huge mountain chain running from north to south along its western boundary is of importance, for, to it must be attributed the vast differences of climate and the nature of the productions in the eastern and western divisions of the peninsula. These hills have the effect of arresting the lower strata of rain clouds brought up from the Indian ocean by the periodical winds of the south-west monsoon and of causing excessive precipitation on the narrow strip of coast line on the western side of the peninsula.

Where the mountain range is of great height, as between Malabar and Coimbatore, the rain clouds are almost entirely diverted from the districts immediately below the mountains on the eastern side, and while the annual rainfall on the western side may be one hundred and fifty inches, not more than twenty inches will be registered on the eastern side immediately within the influence on the mountain ranges. Where the mountain chain is of lower elevation, the rain clouds pass over the hills and rain is precipitated in uncertain and varying amount over the peninsula to the east of the Western Ghāts, but except in the Northern Circars where the rainy season approximates to that of Bengal, the heaviest rainfall of the southern portion of the eastern division of the peninsula occurs during the

period of the north-east monsoon. During the continuance of this monsoon the western ranges of mountains have a similar effect in arresting the rain clouds, so that at the season of the year when the Carnatic is deluged by heavy rain, the western coast districts enjoy fine clear weather.

The capricious character of the rainfall in the eastern division has taught the cultivators of the soil the necessity of making provision for the storage of water for irrigation purposes, and the existence of innumerable tanks or reservoirs scattered all over the country testifies to the fact that from periods of the remotest antiquity the inhabitants of the tracts which receive an irregular rainfall have exercised great ingenuity in the construction of public works for the artificial irrigation of the soil. Nature has thus demanded the assistance of art in the collection, storage and distribution of the condensed moisture of the heavens. The rivers running eastward, swelled by the south-west monsoon rains, are utilised in the fertilisation of the districts. On the western side of the mountains, however, the necessity for such works has never arisen. There the periodical rains fall with great regularly as to time and quantity and the earth yields her fruits so abundantly that although in certain exceptional years, there may be partial failure of crops, absolute famine as a result of bad seasons is unknown.[150] The plateau between the two ranges is naturally the worst off in respect of rainfall as the rain clouds brought by both monsoons are stopped by the mountains before they reach this tract.

[150] Cornish, *Madras Census*, p. 66.

A more detailed consideration is out of place here, **Natural regions.** but following the geographers[151] we may merely mark off what may be termed the Natural regions. First comes the west coast region, the narrow strip between the Western Ghāts and the sea—it is broadest in the north near the Narmada and Tapti rivers, and in the extreme south in Travancore, where it lies between the Cardamom Hills and the sea. The surface is generally undulating, the rainfall is comparatively heavy, the region is well cultivated and densely peopled.

The north-western part which has been called the Dekhan Lavas region, comprising roughly the part of Bombay east of the Ghāts except Dharwar, the whole of Berar, the western half of Hyderabad, Central Provinces and India. Geologists tell us that long ages ago it was covered by great masses of molten lava poured out from fissures or cracks in the earth's crust. The lavas have decomposed over most of the area to form a fine rich dark soil very suitable for cotton and hence the name black soil or cotton soil region. This region is in the rain shadow of the Western Ghāts and nearly the whole area gets less than 40 inches of rain annually.

The east coast region falls into two divisions, the southern or the Carnatic region and the Northern Circars. The former has over 40 inches of rain near the coast, while it decreases inland. The region is well cultivated mainly with the aid of irrigation works; the population is fairly dense. The Northern Circars

[151]The natural regions of South India have been studied in detail by Dudley Stamp and the sketch here is based on his able discussion of the subject in *The Indian Empire*, pp. 203—37.

differ from the former in that the season of rainfall is as in the west coast region, while the amount is a little over that in the Carnatic.

Last comes the south and south-eastern portions of the plateau which is occupied by Mysore, and the Dekhan Districts of Madras, Bellary, Kurnool, Anantapur, Cuddapah and part of Chittoor. The region is a dry one, being the rain shadow of the Western Ghāts. The rocks contain valuable minerals.

Elements of the population.

The population of the vast area consisted, then, as now, mainly of Hindus, but when we ask ourselves the further question of the racial elements in it we are in a field of enquiry where scholars are still divided. There is, however, general agreement that, in the main, the population of South India was derived from the Dravidian stock, modified to a varying extent by the admixture of Aryan and Scythian elements. The latter has probably been confined to Western India, while the Aryan mixture has extended throughout the peninsula in varying degrees. The exact time and the nature of this intercourse are still debatable points; for our purpose it is sufficient to note that the peaceful penetration of the Dekhan by the Indo-Aryans had begun seven centuries before Christ,[152] tradition giving the sage Agastya the credit of this introduction of Aryan ideas and institutions in the South; and by the beginning of the Christian era, Aryan influence had permeated the whole of South India. It is, however, striking that there does not appear to have

[152] Bhandarkar, *Early History*, p. 16.

been any conquest or a general settlement of the Aryan people on a large scale, the spread of Aryan ideas and institutions having been effected by the repeated efforts of individuals.

Besides the Hindus there was a small percentage of Mahomedans, and still smaller of Christians, Jews and Parsis. The Mahomedan element was partly due to immigration and partly to conversion. For more than a thousand years, the trade between India and Europe was conducted by Arabs and Persians. Arab settlements after the introduction of Muhammadanism were made in several places on the coast and the native rulers of the country gave them many facilities for pursuing their calling. These settlements were mainly in the coastal region and there is considerable evidence to show that flourishing Mussulman settlements existed at Kāyal, Mōṭupaḷḷi and in the Malabar ports. After the year 1294, when the first Mahomedan army of the Dekhan arrived before Devagiri, or Daulatabad, the number of the Mahomedans gradually increased by the influx of the conquering Mahomedans particularly in the northern parts of South India where they established the kingdom of the Bahmani and later the Sultanates of Bijapur, Golkonda and Ahmadnagar. It must, however, be added that, throughout this period, both before 1294 and after, there have also been a considerable number of converts who partially retained their old characteristics: as Amīr Khusrū says,[153] they were 'half Hindus'. Of the smaller communities it is enough to state that they hardly affected the racial character of

[153] Amīr Khusrū, Elliot, *History*, III, p. 90.

the general population. The Parsis who are believed to have arrived about the end of the eighth century appear to have found a home in the Konkan; there was a small colony of Jews which mainly owed its origin to the enlightened policy followed by the old Perumāḷ rulers of Western India in encouraging trade with other parts of the world.

Christian communities also flourished, through the tolerance of the Perumāḷ rulers for many centuries before the Portuguese established themselves in Western India; only, since their arrival in the fifteenth century, a considerable population of mixed Indo-European blood originating from unions of the Portuguese with Indian women has grown up on the west coast.

(4) THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

A sketch of political history necessary—South India at the end of the tenth century—The eleventh and twelfth centuries—The close of the twelfth century—The thirteenth century—The early Mahomedan invasions: the period of transition—Bahmani and Vijayanagar—The coming of the Portuguese.

A sketch of political history necessary.

In dealing with the economic history of the people—with agriculture, industry, and foreign trade, with prices and wages and allied subjects—we are not immediately concerned with those topics on which historians ordinarily dilate. The victories and defeats of kings, the expansion and decay of empires, and the foundation of new ones, and the frequent wars of succession, all recede from our atten-

tion though they loom large in dynastic histories. It is, however, necessary, that we should give a sketch of the leading political events of the period we are treating, partly because the action of governments always has its influence on the economic condition of the people, however much the people could modify the effect produced by that action, and partly because in fixing up the chronology of our period, we find such frequent references to the regnal years of kings, and the political events which happened then, that an acquaintance with the main outline of political history may be considered indispensable to a student of economic history.

In giving a sketch, however, of the powers of South India, no attempt is made here to narrate consecutively the history of any of the dynasties, the treatment being confined to a bare outline. And, further, we have to remember that the supremacy of the dominant powers for any particular length of time was not absolute as they had almost continually to fight with the neighbouring powers who did not willingly acknowledge their claim to supremacy, and secondly the rise to power of a new dynasty did not always mean the extinction of the defeated powers; the latter continued to exist, their descendants remaining in a state of sullen subordination to the paramount power. With these general hints we may now proceed to sketch the main outlines of the subject.

South India at the end of the tenth century.

The last quarter of the tenth century was in some respects a period of marked transition in the political history of South India. Old powers, who had held sway in the peninsula, were crumbling down, giving

place to new. In the North, the last of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings, Kakka II had been overthrown in A.D. 973 by Taila or Tailapa II, a scion of the old Cāḷukya stock, who now founded the dynasty known as that of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi and restored the family of his ancestors to its former greatness. He reigned for twenty-four years and during that time succeeded in recovering all the ancient territory of his race, with the exception of the Gujarat province. Before his death in 997, therefore, the Western Cāḷukya power may be said to have extended throughout the Dekhan north of the Krishna from the western sea to the frontier of the Eastern Cāḷukya power. The latter which held sway at Vengi and ruled over the part of the Madras Presidency north of Madras was also on the wane. In the first half of the tenth century, there was confusion at their capital, no less than seven kings being crowned during the sixteen years that elapsed after the death of Bhīma I in 918. These domestic troubles apparently continued, for no king ruled from 973-999. This anarchy was put an end to by the Cōḷa King Rāja Rāja I who intervened on behalf of Śaktivarma and placed him on the throne. Though the Eastern Cāḷukya dynasty continued as a separate family until 1070, the basis had already been laid down for its union with the Cōḷa dynasty when Rāja Rāja married off his daughter to Vimalāditya.

Coming farther south, the Pallavas, who at one time seemed in a fair way to become the paramount rulers of Southern India, virtually disappeared from history, and after the end of the ninth century we hear

little of them as a power, and their place was taken by the Cōḷas. The latter were rapidly rising into power under their king Rāja Rāja I. This energetic sovereign essayed to make the Cōḷa state the leading power in the South. Before the end of the tenth century he had over-run the Eastern Cāḷukya territory, defeated the Ganga king of Mysore, overcome the Pāṇḍyas of the South, and destroyed the Cēra fleet, so that he was well on the way to achieve his aim.

The Pāṇḍya kingdom as defined by tradition extended from the Southern Veḷḷāṛu river in the north to Cape Comorin in the south, and from the Coromandel coast in the east to *Peruvaḻi* (the Great Road) in the west.

But the Pāṇḍyas were now over-shadowed by the growing power of the Cōḷas and it may be said that, at this period of the Cōḷa ascendancy and indeed for two and a half centuries more, the Pāṇḍyas occupied a definitely subordinate position in the peninsula.

The Cēras, on the west coast, were also comparatively of little account at this period.

In between the Cēra country and *Cōḷamaṇḍalam,* the Gangas had occupied and ruled over the greater part of Mysore from the second century but now their power was also on the wane. The Cōḷas who had already conquered the Pallava territories were pressing in upon them, and by A.D. 1000, under Rāja Rāja I had gained a footing in Mysore. And seven years later

we find the first mention of the Hoysaḷas in a Cōḷa inscription of A.D. 1007.[154]

Thus at the end of the tenth century, there was a shifting of political power and, in this shifting, two strong powers stood out above all the rest, the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇi in the north, and the Cōḷas in the South.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The eleventh and twelfth centuries are, in the main, the period of the supremacy of these two powers. The period, however, was not quite a peaceful one. The two powers, fairly well-matched in strength, frequently fought between themselves, and besides, had to do a good deal of fighting with feudatories who refused to acknowledge their supremacy in their own respective territories. The land between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra constituted the bone of contention between the rival powers throughout the eleventh century.

The most important political fact of the beginning of the twelfth century was the rise of the Hoysaḷas. The activities of this new power seem to have given considerable trouble to the Cāḷukya kings—especially as added to this were the attacks of the Yādavas from the North.

The Cōḷas had also to contend with the Pāṇḍyas though on the whole it may be said that to the end of the twelfth century the Cōḷas could generally hold their own against them.

[154] Krishnaswami Aiyaṇgar, *Ancient India*, p. 229.

The end of the twelfth century also witnessed the rise into importance of the independent kingdom of the Kākatīyas with their capital at Warangal.

The close of the twelfth century.

The close of the twelfth century forms a convenient halting point when we can observe another shifting of the political power in South India. The Cāḷukya empire had fallen and their territories had been shared by two powerful feudatory families, the Yādavas in the north and the Hoysaḷas in the south. To the east of the Yādava territory lay that of the Kākatīyas of Warangal who had seized on the Telugu country ruled by the Eastern Cāḷukyas. In the Konkan strip, the Kadambas of Goa were giving way to the Yādavas. The Cōḷa power alone continued undiminished. Though the Pāṇḍyas were waiting for an opportunity to wrest the territory from them, it took another half century for them to succeed to their power.

The thirteenth century.

The Yādavas, like the Hoysaḷas, belonged at first to one of the feudatory families but after the fall of the Cāḷukyas they had become independent. The history of the eleventh century seems to be once more repeated when a Northern power was contending with a Southern. The Hoysaḷas were to the Yādavas what the Cōḷas had been to the Western Cāḷukyas. The bone of contention was the same territory as of old.

While the Hoysaḷas and the Yādavas were contending for supremacy in the north and west, in the south the Cōḷa power was gradually declining. Kulōttunga III

at the beginning of the thirteenth century had restored to the empire part of its former greatness. But he was the last great Cōḷa. The Pāṇḍyas had long been waiting to throw off their yoke. Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya burnt Tanjore and Uṟaiyūr and drove Rāja Rāja III out of his capital. It is this invasion from the south that called for the intervention of the Hoysaḷa Narasimha. Later in the reign there seems to have been a civil war in the Cōḷa country between the brothers Rāja Rāja III and Rājēndra, leading to the second intervention of the Hoysaḷas and to their permanent establishment in the Cōḷa frontier at Kaṇṇanūr. Under the weak Rājēndra III, the Cōḷa power declined; the able Pāṇḍya king, Jaṭāvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I in a series of conquests completed the subjugation of the whole Tamil country. The comparatively peaceful nature of Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara's reign is perhaps the best proof of the achievement of this great Pāṇḍya ruler.

Thus the close of the thirteenth century saw the completion of the shifting of the political power which had begun towards the end of the twelfth. The Yādavas of Deogiri, who had risen on the ashes of the western Cāḷukya power, had now expanded the limits of their acquisitions and their empire practically included the half of the peninsula north of the Krishna from the western sea to the frontier of the Kākatīya kingdom and was now ruled by king Rāmacandra. To the east of them were the Kākatīyas under their great ruler Pratāparudra. South of the Krishna, the Cōḷa power had waned and the Pāṇḍyas under Māṟavarman

Kulaśēkhara I, and the Hoysaḷas under Vīra Baḷḷāḷa III divided the country between them.

The early Mahomedan invasions: the period of transition.

The fifty-three years between the first Mahomedan invasion of the Dekhan in 1294 and the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom in 1347 may be regarded as another period of transition in the political fortunes of South India. This is occupied by the early Mahomedan invasions and the slow disappearance of the older powers. The object of these early invasions was, in the main, to enforce the payment of tribute and a nominal subordination, the non-payment of tribute providing an excuse for further invasions.

The first invasion was under Alauddin who, in 1294, marched with a small body of horse to Deogiri and forced Rāmacandra, the Yādava king, to pay tribute. Encouraged by this success, the Mahomedans made a second invasion in 1303, this time to Telingana, but were unsuccessful. In 1307, Alauddin, now Emperor, sent Malik kafur against Deogiri with an army, alleging his non-payment of tribute as an excuse. He reduced Rāmacandra to submission, and continued his march from Deogiri to Warangal, which he took, and exacted tribute from its Rāja. From Warangal, the victorious general marched still further south, advanced against the Hoysaḷas, defeated their army at Dorasamudra and reduced the whole of the country along the eastern coast as far as Ramēśvaram. Having completed his triumphant march and taken a considerable booty, he retired northwards.

In the course of ten years, however, the impression caused by this invasion began to wear away, and the southern kingdoms began to withold payment of the tribute due to Delhi. In 1318 Mubarak Shah led an army to the Dekhan in order to punish the Yādava king; he seized Haripāla-dēva and flayed him alive, and thus put an end to the dynasty. In 1318, he sent Khusru Khan to invade Warangal and compelled its king to submit. In 1332, however, Ghiyas-ud-din Tughlak had again to send an army to coerce his tributaries in the Dekhan, and the Raja of Warangal, who had been the leader among the insurgents, was carried away captive to the north. During the reign of his successor, Mahomedan power reached its greatest extent in the Dekhan. About 1327-28, Muhammad Tughlaq completed the destruction of the Hoysaḷas, and declared their territories annexed to his empire. He also brought back the ruler of Warangal to allegiance. In 1340, however, he had to check another rebellion, this time of Sayid Hasan, the governor of Coromandel. Muhammad himself marched southwards to suppress the rebellion, but on account of the outbreak of cholera in his camp he was forced to retire to Daulatabad and thence to Delhi (1342). Five years later, the rebellion of Hasan, an officer of the Sultan, laid the foundation of the Bahmani kingdom with its capital at Kulbarga.

Bahmani and Vijayanagar.

From this time, the history of the peninsula centres round the fortunes of the two empires, Bahmani and Vijayanagar.

The kings of Vijayanagar are among the most important of the many rulers who have reigned in

Southern India, and the tradition of the wealth, power and splendour of their reigns is still proudly remembered by the inhabitants of its towns and villages.[155]

The kingdom appears to have first risen to notice after the fall of the Hoysaḷas when two princes named Harihara and Bukka who were employed under the Rāja of Anegundi fled from the sack of the city by the Mahomedans in 1334, and founded the new city Vijayanagar, with the assistance of the learned Mādhava Vidyāraṇya who became their prime minister. This city was situated upon the banks of the Tungabhadra, and from thence the Vijayanagar kings succeeded, during the fourteenth, fifteenth and part of the sixteenth centuries in carrying on a successful contest with their neighbours. Bukka I (1343-1379) combined with the king of Warangal and Hoysaḷa Baḷḷāḷas to attack the Mahomedans and wrested from them Warangal and nearly the whole of the Dekhan; but this triumph could have been only a temporary one, for, shortly afterwards, the Mahomedan viceroy of Daulatabad revolted against the authority of Delhi, proclaimed himself independent and in 1347 founded the Bahmani line of kings whose capital was at Kulbarga in what is now the Nizam's dominions. He soon extended his sway as far south as the Krishna river and, for the next 135 years, the history of South India is largely the story of the constant struggles between the Vijayanagar and Bahmani kings. History repeats itself. The Raichur Doab, the tract of land between the Krishna and the Tungabhadra, was once

[155] Cox, *North Arcot*, p. 22.

again the bone of contention between a northern and a southern power.

Towards the end of the fifteenth century and the beginning of the sixteenth, several of the most powerful nobles revolted against the Bahmani kings and established themselves as independent rulers and though the representatives of the Bahmani line continued during this period to be sovereign in name, their power rapidly declined, and was eventually divided among the five Mahomedan kingdoms of Bijapur, Ahmedabad, Berar, Ahmednagar and Golconda. At Vijayanagar, too, there had been some confusion, on account of a change of dynasty in 1490 when the minister Narasinga had usurped the throne; but unlike the northern kingdom, Vijayanagar was not dismembered now, Krishnaraya (1509-1529) consolidating the empire, and raising it to the zenith of its greatness.

The coming of the Portuguese.

During these years the Portuguese had made their appearance and established themselves at Goa and other places on the west coast.

CHAPTER II

The Economic Life of the Village Community

(1) THE VILLAGE SETTLEMENT

A study of the village community occupies our first attention—Number of villages ; difficulties in estimating—The village—the economic unit—Origins—Where the village system did not prevail—Size of the village—The constituent parts of the village—A typical example—i. The habitat—Provision for expansion—Limit to expansion—Elevation—Evidence of the *Mānasāra*—ii. The arable land—iii. Barren land—iv. Pasture—v. Forest land—vi. Reservoirs of water—Miscellaneous—Boundaries—Village walls—Village roads.

A study of the village community occupies our first attention.

The economic life of the village community claims the first attention of the student of the economic history of South India in the middle ages. South India was then, as it now is, in the main, a land of villages, and the study of the life of the village community covers the life of the large majority of the people.

Number of villages; difficulties in estimating.

We have, obviously, no adequate means of ascertaining the number of villages in those days; our information in this respect consists of statements made by individuals. These statements, mainly of travellers, are, however, only rough indications of what they conceived to be the nature of the country; they apply only to particular parts of it; and their value is lessened by the fact that the names by which they knew those parts of the country do not represent in our own day what they

had in mind, so that they hardly help us to form even an approximate estimate of the number of villages. Thus in 1333, Ibn Batuta says[1] of Ma'bar that 'at each third of a mile, there is a village well populated.' The Ma'bar which he had in mind, to which this description was intended to apply, cannot be ascertained with accuracy, though we may form some idea of it, by comparing his Ma'bar with the Ma'bar of other travellers and chroniclers of the time. Thus according to Wassāf, almost contemporary with Ibn Batuta, Ma'bar extends in length from Kūlam to Nīlāwar (Nellore), nearly three hundred parasangs[2] along the sea-coast[3], while another contemporary writer, Abulfeda specifies the southern extremity more correctly by saying 'the territory Ma'bar begins at the Cape Kumhāri' (Comorin).[4] The exact limits of the province, however, should not be pressed too far—for, none of them specify its western boundary. Marco Polo does not enlighten us better when he seems to avoid the difficulty by saying[5], "You come to the great province of Maabar which is styled India the Greater; it is best of all the Indies and is on the mainland." It is obvious, moreover, that even if the limits of Ma'bar were accurately known, the statement of Ibn Batuta about the number of villages cannot be taken in its literal sense as applying to the whole of it.

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[1] Ibn Batuta, Elliot, *History*, III, p. 587.

[2] *Parasang*=2.76 miles.

[3] Wassāf, Elliot, *History*, III, p. 32.

[4] Abulfeda, in Gildemeister, p. 185, quoted in Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, s. v. Mabar.

[5] Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 331.

More than a century later, in 1443, 'Abdu-r Razzāk says of South Canara[6] that he arrived each day at a town or village. Somewhat similar statements are met with when we come to the Dekhan districts. About 976, Ibn Haukal writes,[7] "from Kambaya to Saimur the villages lie close to one another, and there is much land under cultivation." Nikitin, in 1470, remarks[8] that in and around the country round Bider, there were as many villages as there were *kors*, while in 1520, Paes referring to the Dekhan district as a whole is content with the vague statements,[9] "you have many cities and walled villages." "The whole country is thickly populated with cities, towns and villages".[10]

To attempt to estimate the total number of villages from such vague remarks, separated widely in space and time, would clearly be unscientific; fortunately such an estimate is not necessary for our purpose. To us, the essential point is this : a perusal of the travellers' accounts leaves the impression that in *most* parts of the country, the village was the economic unit, the people there living under fairly similar conditions and having certain common bonds of union, including the bond of a common local government.

The village—the economic unit.

The origins of the South Indian village are not immediately within our scope; for most of the villages had already been long formed, though the process of settlement was going

Origins.

[6] 'Abdu-r Razzāk, Elliot, *History*, IV, p. 104.
[7] Ibn Haukal, Elliot, *History*, I, p. 39.
[8] Nikitin, Major, *India*, p. 12.
[9] Paes, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 242.
[10] Paes, op. cit., p. 237.

on even in the middle ages. In our sources, we do not get a full account of the reasons why people congregated in villages, but it is conceivable that the difficult task of clearing the jungle for cultivation necessitated co-operation and naturally those who were most nearly related to one another, the members of one tribe or clan, combined to perform the work; again where water was available, people concentrated since water was not to be had everywhere in plenty. The necessity of security from attack must also have forced them to combine for mutual defence.

There is one special class of villages, however, which owe their origin to foundation by kings, generals, ministers and others, known as *agrahāras* or *caturvēdimangalams*, the latter name being applied to them because Brahmans belonging to the four vēdic schools occupied them. The nature of our sources is such that we know more of this class of villages than of any other.

Where the village system did not prevail.

The statement that the village was the economic unit does not apply to those parts of the country which, as the travellers were careful to note, did not have the village system. In Malabar, which extended, according to Ibn Batuta,[11] from Sindābūr to Kaulam, the village form of settlement was not found. For "everybody here has a garden and his house is placed in the middle of it, and round the whole of this there is a fence of wood up to which the ground of each inhabitant comes." This is also confirmed by Chinese

[11] Ibn Batuta (Lee), p. 166.

evidence,[12] "The dwellings of the people are scattered about close together on every side with a sufficiency of land to supply the wants of each family." The traveller does not stop to explain the reasons for this difference; but from what we know of the physical features of the country, we may account for it by the undulating nature of its surface.

Size of the village.

Information regarding the size of the village cannot also be regarded as plentiful, though here we seem to be on surer ground. The differentia of villages as distinguished from small towns and cities was no doubt clear to the travellers of the period, for they always distinguish them by different terms.[13] Among the older authorities, *The Mānasāra* recognises forty different classes of villages and towns, according to the extent of the lands owned by them; commencing with a village-unit which was 500 *daṇḍas,* or 4000 feet square, so that the extent of the largest cities would be 20000 *daṇḍas* or about 30 English miles square.[14] In theory, a city was also according to Vijñānēśvara four times the size of a village,[15] but when it comes to a practical distinction, he could describe a *nagara,* the city, only as 'consisting of many people,' [16] and in the same context, the town could be inferred to have been half the size of a city. These distinctions, however, were only theoretical. The actual size of villages can

[12]*Tao i chih lio,* Rockhill, *Notes, T'oung pao,* XVI, p. 453.

[13]See the quotation from Paes, supra, p. 71.

[14]Acharya, *Dictionary,* p. 184.

[15]Vijñānēśvara *The Mitākṣarā,* ii, 167.

[16] *'Bahu jana saṁkīrṇasya'*—Ibid.

be gleaned from the inscriptions, which give in many cases the areas of villages granted to temples and Brahmans. From them we learn that the size of the villages differed widely. One record tells us that 12 *vēlis* of land[17] were constituted into a new village. A Tanjore inscription[18] specifies the areas of 17 villages, their areas varying from 2 *vēlis* or about 13½ acres to 152 *vēlis*.

The constituent parts of the village.

What is, however, of greater importance from the point of view of our present study is the character of the village of the middle ages as an economic entity—the utilisation of the land of the village for the various needs of the villagers. From this point of view, the village was an aggregate of cultivated holdings, generally with some waste land attached to it, and usually it had a central site for the dwelling houses congregated together. Details of the constituent parts of villages are also given in the inscriptions and we may well utilise them in order to reconstruct a clear picture of the mediaeval village.

A typical example.

The Tiruvālangāḍu plates[19] of the sixth year of Rājēndra Cōḷa I (1020 A. D.) may be taken as a typical example. The inscription records the grant of the village of Paḻaiyanūr to the temple of Mahādēva at Tiruvālangāḍu[20] and, in recounting the privileges secured by the

[17] 538 of 1921. 1 *vēli*=6¾ acres.

[18] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 4.

[19] The Tiruvālangāḍu Plates, *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 205.

[20] A village in the North Arcot district.

temple on getting the village as a *dēvadāna*, enumerates the constituent parts of the village thus:—

All the land situated within the four great boundaries herein thus declared including wet lands, dry lands, villages, village-sites, houses, house-gardens, common meeting places,[21] waste (lands set apart) for grazing cattle, tanks, vast expanses of water,[22] ant-hills and (other) mounds,[23] forest lands, low bushes and

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[21] The word in the text is '*Manṟu*' மன்று. The Epigraphist has translated it 'open fields'. In a footnote, he says, the word may be connected with மன்றாடி which generally occurs in inscriptions in the sense of a 'shepherd', (*South Ind. Inscr.*, III, p. 436 n. 1). The sense 'open fields' does not seem to suit the context, as wet lands and dry lands have already been mentioned, and the phrase 'open fields' does not connote any distinctive sense. The word *Manṟu* is therefore different from *Manṟāḍi*. It may be connected with *Manṟam* which is explained by Mahāmahōpādhyāya V. Swāminatha Iyer as 'the open platform under a tree where all people of a village meet together' (*South Ind. Inscr.*, III, p. 436). This interpretation has also been adopted by Subramania Iyer in his *Historical Sketches*, p. 359.

[22] The word, as published in the text, (*South Ind. Inscr.*, III, p. 410) is கொட்டகம் *koṭṭakam*, the impression of the plate as published in Plate xviii-a, line 430 has கோட்டகம் *kōṭṭakam*. The Epigraphist has translated it cowpens, connecting the word with the Sanskrit *gōṣṭhaka* (*South Ind. Inscr.*, III, p. 436, n. 2), *kōṭṭakam* is commonly used in the Tanjore and Chingleput districts to-day in the sense of a large sheet of water, and a proverb says: 'a man who has not seen the ocean, let him at least see a *kōṭṭakam*.' The word, moreover, occurs in close proximity to the tank, and the contrast is likely to have been meant.

[23] Here again my translation is different from that in *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, p. 436. The text has *teṟṟi* and the translation 'hedges'. Subramania Iyer would have it as "big trees marking the boundaries" (*Historical sketches*, p. 359). The word is not found in the dictionaries, but is now in use in the Ramnad district, and denotes mounds or elevated lands particularly in the midst of water. This meaning suits the text well. The writer is indebted to Pandit Rāghava Aiyangār for this suggestion.

plants inter-twined,[24] barren lands, brackish lands, streams, and lands where breaches had occurred,[25] rivers, the lands lying on the bed of the river between the banks and the edge of the normal water-course,[26] (deep) pits (of water) where fish exist, groves where bees build honey-combs,[27] trees growing up, wells sunk below, ditches,[28] ponds, lakes, the high land (i.e., catchment area for an *ēri* which will be covered with water in flood time but will be dry at other times and may be cultivated)[29] without excluding any existing land which is either covered with

[24] The word in the plates as printed is பிடலிகை *Piḍaligai* (See *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 205, impression of the plates, line 430) and not *Piḍiligai*. The translation of the plates leaves it as it is. The meaning adopted above is only a tentative one, and has been suggested by the contrast with forest land.

[25] உடைப்பு in line 431 has been translated channels cut through fields. Winslow (*Tamil and English Dictionary*) gives both meanings viz., A breach and A channel cut through fields—உடை=to break with force suddenly, to break or burst open—as a bank or shore. Subramania Iyer (*Historical Sketches*, p. 359) has adopted the former, and in the context it seems to suit better.

[26] அறிடுபடுகை *Aṛiḍupaḍugai*. The translation given in *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 205, 'arable lands near rivers' does not seem to be sufficiently definite. *Aṛiḍupaḍugai* may be covered with water in flood-time; at other times, it is usually cultivated, being a very rich soil. Cf. Subramania Iyer, *Historical Sketches*, p. 359— the land just on the bed of a river (which it washes during floods), e.g., the village Vallambaḍugai on the north bank of the Coleroon.

[27] *Tēnpayilpodumbu* cf. hollows where honey is stored (*South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 205) which seems to be too literal to convey a definite idea.

[28] *Kiḍangu*—In the translation, *South Ind. Inscr.*, 205, it is given as tanks. But the word *Kuḷam* has also been taken to mean tanks. (Ibid.) Though *Kiḍangu* according to Winslow means also tank, in the context, as another word has been already employed to indicate tanks, it can be taken in its more common sense, a ditch (Vide, Winslow, *Tamil and English Dictionary*) or a small pit.

[29] Cf. translation of *erinir-kōppu* ஏரிநீர்கோப்பு—collections of water below lake (*bunds*), *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 205.

water or rolled by the barrow, land where iguanas run or the tortoises creep.[30]

The plates also contain an exhaustive description of the boundaries of the granted village, running over 281 lines.

Besides such grants, we have others where a partial enumeration of the constituent parts of a village occurs, viz., those which name the parts of a village which were exempt from taxation.[31]

From a careful examination of the various grants, it would appear that the grant made by the king consisted of:—

i. The habitat.

i. The village settlement or the habitat (*ūr* or *nattam*).[32] Thus the land settlement in the region had the village form, and was not of the isolated farmstead type, with the exception already discussed. The term is invariably coupled with the *ūr-irukkai* or the *ūr-nattam*[33] or the *ūr-irukkai-nattam*,[34] meaning village site. In some cases the village was smaller than the

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[30]This phrase is often met with in inscriptions. It is intended to cover any land that might have been left unenumerated and the two parts of the phrase indicate high land and low land respectively.

[31]For an example, see *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 4.

[32]It may be noted that *ūr* in Tamil was originally applied to villages in the agricultural tracts; *ūr*, *pāḍi*, *cēri*, and *paḷḷi* to those in the pastoral tracts; *ūr*, *cēri*, *kuḍi* and *kuricci* to those in the mountainous tracts, *paṭṭiṇam* and *pākkam* to those in the coastal tracts and *paṟandalai* to those in the sandy tracts (*Tolkāppiyam*, commentary on Ch. i, *sūtra* 18). In Telugu the village is generally expressed in the inscriptions by the term *grāma*.

[33]*South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5. sec. 6.

[34]*South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5, sec. 7.

average type, such a one being generally denoted in inscriptions by the term *paḍāgai*,[35] i.e. hamlet. We have also mention, in the inscriptions, of separate quarters, called *cēris*, for the habitation of the artisans and other classes of people—the toddy-drawers, the artisans, the untouchables, the washermen, the Pariahs etc.[36]

All villages had not all these *cēris*; only the bigger ones could apparently boast of having them. This is clear from a comparison of the description of a number of villages in the inscriptions referred to above.[37]

In places where the village system was not in existence, the dwellings of the lower classes also stood isolated—far away from those of the caste people. Barbosa tells us that the Betunes lived "in houses standing by themselves in the fields away from the roads, whither the gentlefolk do not walk." The Poleas

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[35] The *Tiruvālangāḍu* plates, *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, p. 408, line 325. In 586 of 1926, the suburb is called *Piḍāgai* (*A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 92).

[36] *Iḷaccēri, South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 4, sec. 9.
Kammāṇaśēri, South Ind. Inscr., II, *Ibid.*
Tiṇḍāccēri, South Ind. Inscr., II, 4, sec. 13.
Vaṇṇāraccēri, South Ind. Inscr., II, 4, sec. 9.
Paṟaiccēri, South Ind. Inscr., II, 4, sec. 9.

In section 12 of No. 5 of the same series, we find mention of two quarters for the Pariahs—the eastern quarter in which Pariah menials (*ūrappaṟaiyar*) live and the western *paṟaiccēri* in which Pariah cultivators live.

Two other *cēris* are met with in *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5, the *Talaivāyccēri*, (section 15) and the *Taḷiccēri* (sec. 25). But they apparently do not refer to quarters of separate communities but rather denote distinction in location. The former means the *cēri* or quarter, or street near the entrance to the village, and the latter, the 'temple-quarter', generally inhabited by dancing girls.

[37] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 4 and 5.

too lived "in the fields and open campaigns in secret lurking places," and the Pariahs "in the most desert places."[38]

Provision for expansion.

It is an interesting fact that provision was generally made for the expansion of the village, either owing to the increase in the population or by the incoming of new settlers from outside. This may be inferred not so much from the fact that house-sites were sold or gifted away by villagers,[39] but from the care taken to see that the reserved sites were not later converted into paddy fields.[40] An inscription from Tanjore dated 1150 A. D. registers an order definitely prohibiting the house sites of the village from being converted into paddy fields. It was found necessary also to make provision for increased irrigational facilities in order to help waste lands being brought under cultivation by the new comers.[41]

Limit to expansion.

If the village was so designed as to enable it to grow in size, a limit was also set to its expansion. Undue expansion was certainly considered an evil and the method adopted to prevent such expansion was to set up stone slabs on the outskirts of the villages.[42] These were supposed to be able to ward off sickness and other harm which threatened to enter the place and

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[38] Barbosa, *An Account*, II, pp. 65, 68, 69.

[39] 96 of 1926, 12th year of Raja Rājadēva III.

[40] 429 of 1918. *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 19, the 14th year of Rājādhirāja II.

[41] 1247 A.D. 188 of 1921.

[42] Ramaswamy Naidu, *Revenue Systems*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1834, p. 296.

were reverenced accordingly. Some of them bore the rude outline of a deity and were accordingly given such names as 'Piḍāri' or 'Ellai-Amman', the goddess of boundary, and even lands were sometimes allotted for the proper maintenance of worship for such deities.[43]

Even to-day, such stone slabs may be seen on the outskirts of the villages on what are said to be the old boundaries. To the goddess of boundary, according to Francis, "periodical worship is often performed, but in the case of the others, the attentions of the villagers are confined to an annual ceremony, whereat cocoanuts are broken, camphor is burnt, and a light is placed on the stone".[44] A similar account is given in the *Trichinopoly Gazetteer*[45]:—

"Many villages with a claim to antiquity have four or more boundary stones, the number varying with the size of the village......... These are supposed to demarcate the jurisdiction of the village goddess, and a god called Karuppan is supposed to reside in each."

Another feature, of the village settlement is that most of the villages were located on high grounds, high enough to be free from inundation during rains and at the same time to drain off the water in all directions.

Elevation.

These facts about the village settlements in South India—the choice of the elevated land for the house sites or the residential quarters, the reservation of separate

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[43] *Piḍāri-paṭṭi*, *South Ind. Inscr.*, I, 64; II, 4. The temple of Aiyan, *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5, sec. 7.

[44] Francis, *South Arcot*, pp. 92—93.

[45] Hemingway, *Trichinopoly*, p. 81.

quarters for the habitation of the different classes of people[46] and the reservation of sites for the natural expansion of the village—remind us strongly that the *śilpa śāstra* or the science of architecture was studied, and the directions given there were practised. Ananthalwar and Rea, the Editors of '*The Indian Architecture*' concur in saying that the *Mānasāra*[47] was held by the South Indians as a standard work to which they invariably referred when problems connected with the subjects contained in that book came up for solution.[48]

Evidence of the *Mānasāra.*

Indeed we have independent evidence to the effect that, in the middle ages, some classes of people in South India exclusively practised the *śilpa-śāstrās* as their birth-right, and they claimed descent from Viśvakarma, the divine architect, and called themselves Viśvakarmas after him. An inscription[49] from

[46]Acharya, *Dictionary*, p. 184.

[47]The word *Māna-sāra* comes from the words *Māna* or Measurement and *Sāra* or Essence, thus meaning a science of the essence of measurements. The learned editors, however, observe that it may also refer to the name of the author as we have a clear verse at the close of the first chapter which signifies that the name of the author who composed the verses was *Mānasāra*.

"*Mānasāra ṛṣiṇā kṛta śāstram*

Mānasāra viditām krama siddhiḥ"

Ananthalwar and Rea, *Indian Architecture*, I, p. 29.

[48]Ananthalwar and Rea, op. cit., p. 30.

[49]1111 A.D., 575 of 1909, from Mācherla, Guntur dt, *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 60.

We may be permitted in this connexion to refer to the opinion of Altekar, who in his *Village Communities*, doubts, "whether the colonizers of Western India had ever heard of those theories" (laid down in the *śilpa-śāstras*). He proceeds to say, "As far as their residential quarters.......are concerned, our villages have not changed much; so, one

Mācherla in the Telugu Country states that Viśvakarma, the son of Brahmā, was the progenitor of the architects and was the father-in-law of the Sun. Viśvakarma is stated to have converted the rays proceeding from the Sun, his son-in-law, into divine weapons such as the discus of Viṣṇu. Some famous *Ācāryas* of the Viśvakarma family are enumerated and are represented to have been "experts in cutting *lingas* (of Śiva), in preparing images, in understanding the proper place of the latter (in Indian iconography), in building the four kinds of mansions (*prāsāda*) and their innumerable sub-divisions, in grasping the geometry (*kṣētra*) involved in the study of the *vāstu*—(*śāstra*) (architecture), and in gracefully handling the implements of their profession."

The *Mānasāra* treats of various topics. In it, there are found laws for sculpture, the rules for the location and orientation of temples, for the laying out of streets in cities and for the selection of suitable sites for different kinds of temples and for dwelling-houses. Carpentry and joinery connected with the building of cars for gods, and for sculptures thereon, are also indicated in some of its chapters. There are also chapters detailing the several classes of Viśvakarmas with their respective qualifications.[50]

wonders whether such rules had ever guided village colonization"—Altekar, *Village Communities*, p. 78.

The facts given by the learned author, however, show that the same general principles of village formation governed their settlements (p. 77 for details). The point seems to be that while there were variations between parts, the leading principles of the *Mānasāra* were applied by the Viśvakarmas, though all might not have heard of the theories.

[50] Ananthalwar and Rea, op. cit., pp. 29—30. For a detailed analysis of its contents, see ibid, pp. 37—41.

The ninth chapter of the book deals in elaborate detail with the different types of village formation according to their shape, extent, their entrance way, etc. According to their shape the villages are divided into eight classes namely *Daṇḍaka, Sarvatōbhadra, Nandyāvarta, Padmaka, Svastika, Prastara, Kārmuka* and *Caturmukha* (lines 2—4). The measurement, the ground-plans, the offerings to the presiding deity, the internal arrangement, the laying out of the houses, and the ceremonial opening of new buildings are described in order.[51]

The general plan of the village is then described[52]:

"Each village is surrounded by a wall made of brick or stone, strong and high enough to prevent leaping over. Beyond this wall there is a ditch broad and deep enough to cause a great obstruction in the event of an attack on the village. There are generally four main gates at the middle of the four sides and as many at the four corners. Inside the wall there is a large street around the village. This street is generally used for circumambulation on some special occasion, daily rounds of the police, open air drive and

[51]*Prathamaṁ grāma-mānaṁ ca*
dvitīyaṁ padaṁ vinyaset
Tṛtīyaṁ tad-baliṁ datvā
caturthaṁ grāma(ṁ) vinyaset
Pañcamaṁ gṛha-vinyāsaṁ
tatra garbhaṁ vinikṣipet
ṣaṭkaṁ gṛha—pravēśaṁ ca
tan-mānam adhunocyate, the *Mānasāra*, Ch. ix, lines 5—8, quoted in Acharya, *Dictionary*, p. 183.

[52]Lines 95—503, See Acharya, *Dictionary*, s. v. Grāma. Also Ananthalwar and Rea, *Indian Architecture*, I, Ch. ix.

similar uses of public import. Two other large streets are those which run from one gate to another in the middle of the wall on each side. They intersect each other at the centre of the village, where a temple or a hall is generally built for the meeting of the villagers. The village is thus divided into four main blocks, each of which is again subdivided into many blocks by streets which are always straight from one end to the other of a main block. The ground-floors of the houses on the main streets are shops. The surrounding street has foot-paths and houses only on one side. These houses are mainly public buildings, such as schools, colleges, libraries and guest-houses. All other streets generally have residential buildings on both sides. The houses high or low are always uniform in make. Congestion is carefully avoided. The drains or *jala-dvāra*. . . .are made towards the slope of the village. Tanks and ponds are dug in all the inhabited parts and located in such quarters as can be conveniently reached by a large number of inhabitants. The temples of public worship as well as the public commons, gardens and parks are similarly located. The people of the same caste or profession are generally housed in the same quarter."

It is also noteworthy that each house was provided with its garden and yard. The word '*manaip-paḍappai*'[53] is indicative of this fact. Further, in inscriptions which mention sales of houses, we have mention of the gardens attached to houses being sold

[53] *South Ind. Inscr.*, I, 58, text line 22; 87, lines 37—38. Each house 50′ wide and 100′ long with a wall and backyard. *Ep. Car.*, XI, Kunigal 37.

along with them.[54] This corresponds to what Weber calls the *'Wurt'* or fenced garden land in the German hide (*Hufe*), of which there were as many parts as there were originally dwelling lots in the village.[55]

ii. The arable land. ii. The arable land—Next to the village habitat, the most important part of the land system of the village was the cultivated lands. A number of inscriptions record grants of villages with cultivable fields or in some cases bits of land only, forming part of a village. Some even specify the class of land which was gifted away.[56] In Sanskrit grants, the expression that commonly occurs is *'kṣētra,'* meaning a field.[57] In Tamil grants, however, the land is usually distinguished under three heads, wet lands, dry lands and garden lands.[58] While it is true that in inscriptions recording grants of land we find almost invariably the existence of both dry and wet lands in the same village this does not hold good of garden lands.[59]

Cultivable lands, however, were not always coterminous with cultivated lands. This must be obvious to one who reads of numerous grants of uncultivated

[54] *South Ind. Inscr.*, I, 87.

[55] Weber, *Economic History*, p. 5.

[56] 207 of 1919 from Tribhuvanadēvi, Pondicherry, 1098 A.D. records a gift of land under class twelve.

[57] See a grant of Amma II, *South Ind. Inscr.*, I, 38.

[58] 59 of 1914. *A.R.E.*, 1915, part ii, para 44. Tamil-*Nañjai, Puñjai, Tōṭṭam, Paḷḷam, Mettu, Tōṭṭaccāl.*

[59] The Tiruvālangāḍu plates quoted above do not contain any reference to garden lands in the village other than house gardens. The point is of some importance in considering the question of the self-sufficiency of the village.

but cultivable lands, often accompanied with special concessions in taxation, to help the donee to bring them into cultivation.[60]

It is a singularly interesting point to note that such uncultivated portions of the lands of the village were more often found in the corners of the village away from the residential quarters. An inscription of 1176 A. D. from Eḍayarpākkam, Chingleput district, registers the fact that a piece of land was in a distant corner of the village so that no one came forward to cultivate it.[61] Another example of the same unwillingness of the people to cultivate lands lying far away occurs in an inscription from Tanjore district.[62]

To inquire into the question why there should have been such a feeling is not quite relevant in a study of the land system of the village; it is probably sufficient to note, here, that in general, the land surrounding and within easy approach of the village settlement was mostly cultivated wet land, and uncultivated waste was to be found only in the outer extremity of the village boundary.

Here we may also notice another class of lands, which were under cultivation only for part of the year. During the rainy season a part of the lands would go under water which at other times would be made use of. The expressions *āṟiḍupaḍugai* and *ēri-kōppu* referred to above indicate that in flood time such lands would be covered, while in the dry season they would be

[60] 1402 A.D., *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 52.

[61] 254 of 1910, *A.R.E.*, 1911, part ii, para 28.

[62] 100 of 1911 from Sikkil, Tanjore district.

under cultivation. The area of land denoted by *paḷḷavāy*[63] may also be brought under this head. Being near the edge of the normal water limit of a lake it is under water in the rainy season, and has to be drained for cultivation.[64]

Here is also the place to include two other items of interest, viz., *kaḷam*,[65] and *āyatanam*.[66]

The former is the threshing floor, and is fairly well-known. At the time of which we are speaking, the *kaḷam* was invariably common for the whole village. From the fact of the continuance of this at the present day in some localities, this is easy to understand, but that the barn (*āyatanam*) should also have been at least in some villages, common for the whole village is a surprising fact. Vijñānēśvara interprets '*āyatanam*', as a house or a plot of ground for storing husk or straw.[67] It appears therefore, that in addition to a common threshing floor there was also a common place for the villagers to store husk or straw.[68]

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[63] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5, sec. 17.

[64] Cf. Ibid., translation: the land used as a pit (*paḷḷavāy*) which is dug (for) the water from the tank (*ēri*) of the village. Krishna Sastri, *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, p. xi. The proper rendering is perhaps "the land which had become a pit owing to the accumulation of the water from the tank (of the village) of Śiru-Munniyur".

[65] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5, sec. 5, *ūr-kaḷam*, sec. 11. *Kaḷam* is the Tamil form of the Sanskrit *Khala*.

[66] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 154.

[67] *Āyatanam nivēśanam palālakūṭādyartham vibhaktaḥ bhūpradēśaḥ*, Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 154.

[68] Even now in addition to a common threshing floor there is also a common place for the villagers to store husk or straw, in the *Samudāyam* villages.

iii. Barren land.

iii. The barren land—While, in general, the cultivated lands probably predominated, there were undoubtedly stretches of barren (*'kaḷaṛu'*) and brackish (*uvaru*) lands which were not fit for cultivation. The expression *kaḷaṛu* itself means barren or brackish land,[69] and *uvaru* is also used in common parlance to mean the same thing. In the inscriptions, *kaḷaṛu* was probably intended to mean the barren lands, while *uvaru* was intended to convey the idea of such lands as were also brackish. But we cannot be sure.

iv. Pasture.

iv. The pasture land—It does not fall exactly under the category of barren lands, for it was a part of the cultivable land left uncultivated for the cattle to graze.[70] The injunction to reserve such a site is a very old one and is found in the earliest Smṛtis.[71] The jurist of our period Vijñānēśvara repeats the same in his commentary on Yājñavalkya,[72] 'By the choice of the village, i.e., by the choice of the inhabitants of the village, regard being had to the large or small extent of the land, or by the king's will, a cattle pasture ground should be made; i.e., some good portion of the uncultivated land should be appropriated for the pasturage of the kine and the like.'

[69] Winslow, *Tamil and English Dictionary*.

[70] *Kanṛu mēyum pāḻu*, the Tiruvālangāḍu plates, *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 205, p. 410, line 429; Ibid, II, 5, sec. 12. The Epigraphist has here translated the word as 'land lying as pasture for the calves'. I am not aware that there is any separate site reserved for the grazing of the calves.

[71] Manu, *Dharmaśāstra*, viii, 237.

[72] *South Ind. Inscr.*, I, 114, *'Gōpracārabhūmi'*, Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 166.

Not only was pasture land reserved for cattle it also appears that pasturing elsewhere was in some cases prohibited. A Tanjore inscription of 1150 A.D. lays down that bullocks grazing near the village channels shall be impounded in pens erected for the purpose.[73]

It must be obvious, however, that in off seasons, after the harvest had been reaped, the cattle were turned on the fields.

It appears also probable that there were separate cattle-stands, different from the pasture-lands. The inscription, referred to above,[74] refers to an order to the effect that cattle-stands of the village shall not be permitted to be converted into paddy-fields. Further, the *Mitākṣarā,* in discussing the question of the pasture-land, points out another rule meant for the convenience of cows and other cattle for standing, lying down, etc. In commenting on verse 167 of Yājñavalkya, he says, "Here is *another* rule being propounded to provide for the convenience of cows and other cattle for standing, lying down, etc. The space to be left between a village and its fields shall be one hundred *Dhanus* in extent on all sides exempt from tillage."[75] It has to be read in close relation to the commentary on verse 166 where the

[73] 429 of 1918, 14th year of Rājādhirāja II. *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 19.

[74] 429 of 1918, 14th year of Rājādhirāja II, *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 19.

[75] The text on which this statement is based is:—

Idamaparam gavādīnām sthānāsana saṅkaryarthamucyatē grāma-kṣētrayōrantaram dhanuś-śaṭaparimitam pariṇāhaḥ,

Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 167.

jurist speaks of the pasture land proper, "By the choice of the village" etc. quoted above.[76]

Thus there was to be another piece of land, intended as the cattle-stand in addition to the grazing land according to the *Mitākṣarā*. This position is supported by inscriptional evidence.[77]

v. Forest land.

v. The forest land—Similar to the pasture land in its character of being used by the community in common was the forest land. Unlike the former, however, it cannot be asserted of every village that it had a jungle land for its use. There are grants without any mention of forest land, and besides, the boundaries of certain villages described do not

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[76] Aparārka, the other great commentator on Yājñavalkya, however, takes the two verses 166 and 167 to refer to the same piece of pasture land. He is explicit on the point, saying that the second verse is intended only to delimit the extent of ground generally suggested in the first—Aparārka, *Commentary*, ii, 166 and 167.

The *Arthaśāstra*, however, seems to support Vijñānēśvara's interpretation:

sthambhais-samantatō grāmād dhanuś śatāpakṛṣṭam upaśālam kārayēt—Kauṭilya, *The Arthaśāstra*, (*Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, Trivandrum, 1924, No. 80), Ch. 67, p. 59, l. 7.

'An enclosure with timber posts shall be made at a distance of a hundred *Dhanus* from a village'.

'At a distance of 800 angulas around every village an enclosure with timber posts shall be constructed.'

That this piece of land was apparently intended to be different from the pasture land is clear from the fact that the author speaks of the *vivīta* in the next line which means a pasture land, and further he speaks of the cows which have passed ten days in the enclosure after calving.

paśu pracārārtham vivītcmālavanēnōpajīvēyuḥ—' Kauṭilya,

The Arthaśāstra, (Edited by Shama Sastry, Mysore, 1924), p. 172.

[77] 429 of 1918, *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 19.

cf. the position taken up by Gupta, (*Land System*, *Ind. Ant.*, LI, pp. 74—6.) in regard to the *Gōpracārabhūmi* and the *Triṇayūti*.

mention any forest land at all. It is only reasonable to suppose then that the forest land was not an adjunct of every village. Forests were being continually reclaimed. Some inscriptions specifically state that particular villages were founded after clearing the forest;[78] there are other instances[79] where reclamation was encouraged by concessions in taxation for a number of years. In these and in others of a like nature the forests must have formed the boundaries of the villages, but this cannot be said of all. Where forests existed, the rights to wood-cutting were of course shared by the inhabitants.

vi. Reservoirs of water.

vi. Reservoirs—A considerable area of the land in the villages was occupied by tanks and other reservoirs of water. It is interesting to note that, according to the *Mānasāra*,[80] tanks and ponds are to be dug in all the inhabited parts and located in such quarters as can be conveniently reached by a large number of inhabitants. In the Tamil inscriptions we find several terms used for the same. Some of them were useful for irrigation purposes while others apparently were confined to bathing purposes. The plates referred to above at the beginning of this section have *kuḷam, kōṭṭakam, ōḍai, āṟu, minpayil-paḷḷam, kiṇaṟu, kiḍaṅgu, kēṇi.* Other inscriptions add *punakkuḷam, ūruṇikkuḷam, vāykkāl,*[81] *kaḷani,*

[78] 1253 A.D., 224 of 1905, from Kurnool.
[79] 432 of 1917, *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 48.
[80] Acharya, *Dictionary*, p. 184.
[81] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5, sec. 7 and 12.
South Ind. Inscr., II, 4, sec. 2. The channels which pass through one village, obviously irrigating other villages also. See sec. 12 of the same.

'*pulattil-kuḷangaḷ*'[82] (ponds in fields), *paraikkuḷak-kuri*[83] (separate ponds and wells for the Pariahs), *toṭṭi*[84] (cistern), the pond in which red water-lilies are planted[85] and the sacred bathing pond.[86] Along with the area occupied by the water reservoirs, we may also take the causeway built on the banks of the rivers.[87]

Miscellaneous.

Not included under any one of the above headings were certain areas also specified in inscriptions—the sites of temples[88] and their appendages, usually the garden attached to the temples[89] and the sacred courts,[90] the sacred quarter near the temple,[91] and the sacred bathing pond.[92] The bigger villages had each several temples in their precincts.[93] The site occupied by the burning grounds of the various communities, viz. burning grounds for the cultivators,[94] burning grounds for the Pariahs,[95]

[82] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 4, sec. 13; Ibid., sec. 3.

[83] In villages the low class people were not permitted to draw water from tanks or wells used by caste people.

[84] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5, sec. 15.

[85] Ibid., sec. 2.

[86] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5, sec. 11, *Tirumañjanakkuḷam*.

[87] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 4, sec. 11.

[88] *Śri Kôyil*, orthodox Hindu temple as contrasted with the temples of the Dravidian village deities and the Jaina temples.
South Ind. Inscr., II, 4, sec. 3, the temple of Piḍāri.

[89] *Nandavanam*, Ibid., sec. 4.

[90] *Tirumuṟṟam*, Ibid., sec. 18.

[91] *Taliccēri*, *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5, sect. 25.

[92] *Tirumañjanakkuḷam*, Ibid., 5, sec. 11.

[93] Temple of Piḍāri, *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5, sec. 15.
Kāḍugāḷ, *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5, sec. 15.
Durgaiyār, *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5, sec. 15.
Kāḷar and Piḍāriyār, *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5, sec. 15.
Aiyan, *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5, sec. 15.

[94] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 4.

[95] Ibid.

etc., and the roads leading to these grounds[96] also formed part of the village; the *Koṭṭakāram*,[97] i.e., the granary of the village, the *pēṭe* or market-place,[98] the elevated lands of the village, the *teṟṟi* and the *puṟṟu*, and finally the grove for the recreation of the people are also to be mentioned to complete the picture of a mediaeval village. The last was not probably found in every village, but that some villages had it cannot be doubted.[99]

Boundaries.

Having now described the land system in the villages according to epigraphical evidence, we may turn to the boundaries. Here the evidence receives some addition from the accounts of travellers. The boundary marks recommended by the jurist Vijñānēśvara are in essentials the same as those prescribed by the law-givers who preceded him. Commenting on Yājñavalkya he divides the boundaries into two major heads the visible and the invisible and quotes Manu with approval.[100] " 'Let him mark the boundaries by trees such as the *Nyagrōdhas, Aśvatthas, Kimśūkas*, cotton-trees, *śālas*, palmyra palms and trees with milky juice. By clustering shrubs and bamboos of different kinds, *śāmis*, creepers and raised mounds, reeds and thickets

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[96] Ibid.

[97] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5, sec. 15; Hultzsch translates the word as 'stables' 'Ibid., p. 64); cf. *Tamil Lexicon*, s. v. *Koṭṭakāram*. The method of collecting taxes in the villages perhaps made it necessary to maintain a granary in the village.

[98] 1525 A.D., 450 of 1920, a Kanarese inscription from Anantapur.

[99] 1251 A.D., 546 of 1918, *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 26.

[100] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 150 and 151; Manu, *Dharmaśāstra*, viii, 246—48.

of the *Kubjaka*, so that the boundary (mark) will not vanish, tanks fed by reservoirs, wells and fountains should be built on boundary junctions, as also temples.' These are visible marks."

Other visible marks are:—a mound (*sthalam*) or a raised portion of ground,[101] a water-embankment (*sētu*) or a dam to a flow of water, and a heap of stone (*caitya*) i.e. an embankment of stone or any other material.[102]

The invisible marks are then quoted from Manu:[103] Considering that men err constantly in their knowledge concerning boundaries, let him (i.e. the king) cause to be made other marks of boundaries which remain hidden. Stones, bones, cow's hair, chaff, ashes, potsherds, dry cow-dung, bricks, cinders, pebbles, and sand. And whatever other things of a similar kind the earth does not corrode (even) after a long time, these he should cause to be buried as invisible signs where boundaries meet.

The point of interest in quoting these time-honoured directions, repeated in almost similar terms by the great jurist of our period, is that they conform in essentials to what we know about the boundaries of villages in the middle ages. The Tiruvālangāḍu plates quoted above have 281 lines (from 1. 145 to 426) describing the boundary of the village of Paḻaiyanūr, and a careful analysis of this description shows that the boundaries included—

(1) mounds, *teṟṟi*, mounds with trees.
(2) trees, of twenty different kinds.

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[101] Ibid.
[102] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 151.
[103] Manu, *Dharmaśāstra*, viii, 249—51.

(3) pits, circular pits, pits with trees.
(4) ponds, tanks, channels.
(5) ant-hills, ant-hills with different kinds of trees.
(6) channels, high level channels.
(7) bank of the channel for flood-water.
(8) boundary stones with marks of fish.
(9) temples and sacred bathing tanks.
(10) wells.
(11) rocks with marks of double fish.

Of the invisible signs mentioned above, we have for obvious reasons, no mention in the inscriptions. They describe only what was visible to the eye, when the boundaries were noted.

Village walls.

Whether the inhabited site of the mediaeval village had a wall surrounding it is a question which may well be discussed in connexion with boundaries. Inscriptions, so far as we are aware, do not mention it. Among the travellers, the only contemporary accounts regarding village walls seem to be the statements of Paes about 1520: "Going from this city of Darcha towards the city of Bisnaga,..........you have many cities and *walled* villages."[104] "The whole country is thickly populated with cities and towns and villages; the king allows them to be surrounded only with earthen walls".[105]

This statement obviously refers to the central and more northern districts of the country, and to a comparatively late period. The fact that the existence of

[104] Paes, Sewell, "*A Forgotten Empire*," p. 242. Italics mine.
[105] Ibid., p. 237.

the village wall is alluded to in contemporary evidence only somewhat later and the fact that this refers only to those parts of South India which were under constant fear of Muslim invasions or were under Muslim rule later suggests that the village walls became a regular feature only in the later middle ages. In the southern districts, the villages were generally open, as they now are, without defensive walls.

No remains of fortifications are generally seen round the villages in the far south. Regarding South Arcot, we are told,[106] "The ordinary villages....... straggle about in the fashion which, though usual in the south, is in marked contrast to the state of affairs in more northern districts—those in the Deccan, for example. In these latter areas, the villages usually retain traces of fortifications and the houses are still huddled together within the line of the defences". The same story is told in the *Trichinopoly Gazeteer,* Hemingway remarking[107] that the villages are generally open without defensive walls. A *via media* between the two extremes is found in the district of Vizagapatam, "In the plains, the villages usually straggle along the two sides of one long street, off which lead narrow alleys....... Remains of fortifications are rare, and never embrace the whole village site, as in the Deccan." [108]

Sufficient evidence has been quoted to show the contrast between the Dekhan districts and the districts

[106] Francis, *South Arcot,* p. 89.
[107] Hemingway, *Trichinopoly,* p. 81.
[108] Francis, *Vizagapatam,* p. 67.

of the far south, and this contrast, as far as our available evidence goes, may be explained by the fear of the villagers in the former from pillages in the time of the early Mahomedan invasions of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It is, however, fair to point out that, according to the *Mānasāra*,[109] each village is to be surrounded by a wall made of brick or stone strong and high enough to prevent leaping over.[110] We can only say that this principle was probably applied wherever practicable and not everywhere, for, from the evidence of numerous inscriptions, it is clear that many villages did not have a wall for boundary.[111]

Village roads.

We have now dealt with the village settlement, its constituent parts, and its boundaries. Before passing on to the land tenures we may remark that the village settlement in one locality was not entirely isolated from others. We have mention in the inscriptions of the roads from one village to another, which formed the boundary of the villages granted to temples or Brahmans. In Tamil inscriptions, the road is called *peruvaḻi*.[112] This point is of some importance in connexion with the self-sufficiency of the village, but this we must reserve to a later stage, when we discuss the economics characteristics of the village.

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[109] Ch. ix, on *Grāma*, quoted in Acharya, *Dictionary*, p. 183.

[110] *The Mānasāra*, v. 109, 110, 144, etc, quoted in Acharya, *Dictionary*, pp. 183—4, s. v. *grāma* quoted above, supra, p. 83.

[111] Supra, pp. 75—77.

[112] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 4, sec. 16. Minor roads are called *vaḻi*.

(2) LAND TENURES

i. *Private Property in Land*—Importance of private property—Its history—Need for a fresh examination of evidence, threefold—i. Scholars not yet agreed—ii. Accumulation of fresh evidence—iii. Intensive study of the particular period—Definition of private property in land—The power to alienate, the criterion—Literary evidence—*The Mitākṣarā*—*The Jaiminīya-Nyāyamālā*—Inscriptional evidence—Classification : royal and private alienation—i. Royal—Villages—Lands—The *Kāṇiyāṭci*—ii. Alienations by private agencies.

ii. *Joint Tenure.*—1. Introductory—Work of previous writers on the subject—Our problem—Value of Baden-Powell's work and of the evidence published since.

2. Joint tenure: its implications—Our problem two-fold: i. community of interest in land, ii. distribution of joint villages.

3. Community of interest in land—i. Complete ownership in common—ii. Part rotation and part common—iii. Part severalty and part common.

4. Features incident to joint tenure: The broad differences—i. The right to alienate—ii. Pre-emption—iii. Management of local affairs—Venkayya's contribution—Later inscriptions—Different types—The *Caturvēdimangalam*—The committee organisation, a distinctive feature of the *Caturvēdimangalam*—(i) Proofs Negative: absence of mention in ryotwari villages—(ii) Functions primarily of a landlord body exercised through committees—(iii) Committees, constituted of shareholders—(iv) Village assembly also of shareholders—(v) Remission of taxes, its real significance—(vi) Distribution of taxes and the power to sell lands of defaulters—(vii) *Taniyūr.*

5. Altekar's criticism.

6. Distribution of Joint villages—Existence of Severalty villages.

iii. *Special Tenures: Beneficial and Service.*—Origin of special tenures:—gifts and payment of wages in land—Basis of classification—Beneficial and service—Beneficial tenures of three kinds—(a) Held by institutions—(b) By individuals and collective bodies—Variations in *Ēkabhōga*—(c) Mixed: by institutions and individuals combined—Benefit enjoyed—Conditions in beneficial tenures—Beneficial tenures as compensation for wrongs done or in appreciation of some deed—Service tenures of two main kinds—Some useful distinctions: occasional and permanent—Sectional and whole—Conditions—Service tenures in temples—Miscellaneous tenures.

iv. *Leases.*—Introductory—Two main problems—i. Who were the landlords?—ii. Conditions of Lease—(a) Term—(b) Stipulation regarding the cultivation of crops—(c) Stipulation regarding the proper care of land—(d) Share of produce: the share, and the fixed rent systems—The share system; variation—i. in wet and dry lands—ii. According to crop—iii. In old and new lands—Fixed rent in kind—In cash—Kind and cash—Variation according to crops—According to lands—Incidental charges—Additional burdens—Compensating advantages—Penalty—(e) Alienation.

Note: Topics treated under Land Tenures.

Note.—'Land Tenures' is here treated under four headings: *Private Property in Land, Joint Tenures, Special Tenures,* viz., tenures arising out of grants (beneficial and service), and *Leases,* the relation between the land-lord and tenant. This arrangement needs some explanation. The word 'Tenure', according to the latest *Oxford Dictionary* means: (i) the action or fact of holding a tenement (tenement=land or real property which is held of another by any tenure or holding.)

(ii) The condition of service, etc., under which a tenement is held of the superior; the title by which the property is held; the relations, rights, and duties of the tenant to the land-lord.

Strictly speaking, therefore, the question of private property in land is not within the scope of 'Land Tenures' for the very word 'tenure' by which we express the manner of possessing the right to such property conveys the direct admission of holding such

property from a superior on certain conditions, but as, in historical discussions relating to the subject in India, there has been a tendency to regard the land as held of the state, it has been thought proper to include the subject, under the head; and the available evidence is examined. At bottom it is a legal question: "Who has the title to land?"—though it has also an important fiscal aspect in relation to the subject of taxation. The question of joint tenure looks at the title to the land from another point of view—viz, was land held individually or in community? The importance of this in a discussion of the economic life of the village is obvious; and as much epigraphical evidence has become available since Baden-Powell wrote his well-known work (1899), it has been thought advisable to examine the evidence afresh.

The last two sections, dealing as they do with certain relations, duties and rights of tenancy are clearly within the scope of our study.

i. *Private property in land*

Importance of private property.

The *raison d'etre* of a discussion on private property in land almost at the outset of the chapter on the economic life of the village community is in the inherent importance of the subject: the economic life of the village community depended largely on land, the latter being the primary source of wealth, and the full utilisation of this first agent of production depended partly on the sense of security which the sense of ownership would give.[113]

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[113]Here I am only giving expression to the commonly held view that the man who owns his farm will secure greater produce from a given plot than the one who works at another's. It may be pointed out, however, that investigations are being conducted to determine the relation between ownership of land and efficiency of cultivation, especially by the Bureau of Agricultural Economics of the United States Department of Agriculture and the results have been embodied in the U.S.A. Agricultural yearbook for 1923. They seem to hold that "efficiency is less a matter of the class of tenure than it is of the personal qualities of the farmer, the character of the land, and the adequacy of farm equipment and operating capital."—*Agriculture Year Book*, 1923, p. 576.

Its history.

The question is undoubtedly old. From the early days of the Company, it has been discussed both by administrators and historians, among whom, the names of Sir Thomas Munro,[114] Elphinstone,[115] Nicholson,[116] Sir Louis Mallet,[117] Lord Salisbury,[118] and Sullivan, [119] may be mentioned.

In 1869, all the then available evidence was discussed with much ability by Wilks,[120] whose fine exposition of the subject still retains its classic character. More recently, Baden-Powell brought the discussion up-to-date, in his *Indian Village Community*,[121] and his conclusions were then taken to have set the question at rest. He said, "Whatever might have been the precise date to which the right of the State to be considered superior owner of the soil may be carried back, it is certain that no ancient Hindu authority can be quoted for it," and he maintained that the theory of the State ownership of land was of a late origin.[122]

Need for a fresh examination of evidence, three-fold.

The need, however, for a fresh examination of the available materials arises from three considerations:—

1. Scholars not yet agreed.

In spite of the valuable evidence adduced on both sides, scholars do not seem to have come to a final agreement on the subject.

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[114]Munro, *Minutes*, I, pp. 72—74 and 238 ff.

[115]Elphinstone, *History*, pp. 79—80.

[116]Nicholson, *Coimbatore*, II, pp. 287 ff.

[117]*Minute on Land Revenue*, quoted in Nagam Aiya, *Travancore*, III, p. 122.

[118]Ibid.

[119]Quoted in Nagam Aiya, *Travancore*, III, pp. 122—123.

[120]Wilks, *Historical Sketches*, I, pp. 65—123.

[121]pp. 205—210.

[122]Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, p. 209.

I need only refer here to the divergent opinions of two eminent scholars, Vincent Smith and Jayaswal.[123]

There are other scholars who think that ownership in land was double. Hopkins, the learned author of *'India Old and New'*, may be taken as typical of what we may term, the *via media* school. "In fact," says he,[124] "though I do not know that the idea has been suggested before, or that it would receive the approbation of scholars generally, I am convinced for my own part that the true solution is to be found in the explanation that the revenue in ancient times was regarded as a tax, but that in regard to ownership the old Hindu legislator held (without raising the question which is now put first) that ownership in land was double." It is evident therefore that the statement contained in a recent text-book[125] on the subject, "so far as the Hindu period is concerned, all are agreed that the ancient Hindu sovereigns never claimed any right to the proprietorship of the soil," is a little too confident, and there is room for a fresh examination of evidence.

ii. Accumulation of fresh evidence.

ii. The second consideration is this: fresh evidence has been accumulating in recent years. The progress of epigraphical research has enabled us to get

[123] Jayaswal, in his *Hindu Polity*, part ii, pp. 174—183, has brought in an array of authorities from very old times, and argued the case for the existence of private property in land, and incidentally drawn attention to the remark of Vincent Smith, (*Early History*, II Edition, p. 129, and repeated, in the III Edition, p. 131) in favour of state ownership and pointed out how it is untenable. The statement, however, is repeated in the IV Edition of the *Early History*, 1924, revised by Edwardes, pp. 137—138, with some slight change. "The native law of India has ordinarily recognized agricultural land as being crown property."

[124] Hopkins, *India*, p. 221.

[125] Sundara Raja Aiyangar, *Land Tenures*, p. 7

at a number of inscriptions, particularly those relating to South India, and a number of grants have been critically edited in the pages of the *Epigraphia Indica,* the *South Indian Inscriptions,* and the *Travancore Archaeological Series,* which throw useful light on some disputed points relating to ownership of land. An intensive study of all this evidence, coupled with a re-examination of the old evidence—parts of which might have been overlooked, or might not have been correctly interpreted—will help to bring the discussion up-to-date and to clarify issues.

iii. Intensive study of the particular period.

iii. Above all such an intensive study should be confined to a particular period and a particular part of the country. Writers on the economic condition of India are still prone to cite from the early law of the Hindus, and to many Hindu law is synonymous with the laws of Manu. Now Manu may be cited with discretion, but not as though his ideas held good through the ages, or in all parts of the country. Ideas have changed with the times, and it cannot be too strongly urged that in a discussion of the conditions of the middle ages in South India only sources relating to the particular period in question and to the particular area may properly be used. With this limiting condition, we propose to take up the evidence, literary and epigraphic.[126]

Definition of private property in land.

The starting point for our discussion of the subject may be found in defining 'property in land'. "Property in land seems to consist in the exclusive use and absolute disposal of the powers of the soil in perpetuity; together

[126] See infra, List of Authorities.

with the right to alter or destroy the soil itself, where such an operation is possible. These privileges, combined, form the abstract idea of property; which does not represent any substance distinct from these elements. Where *they* are found united, *there* is property, and nowhere else."[127] It may at once be said that the idea of 'absolute dominion' conveyed by 'exclusive use and absolute disposal' is incompatible with the existence of society which has a claim on all our property for the protection it assures us. Hence as Wilks has well put it,[128] "If we deny the existence of property merely because it is subject to contributions for the service of the state, we shall search in vain for its existence in any age or nation" and, according to the same author, what we seek for in a discussion of private property is not absolute dominion, pure and simple, but "dominion so far absolute as to exclude all claims, excepting those of the community which protects it" always supposing in the case of land the existence of a proprietor's share, viz.—that which remains to the proprietor after defraying all public taxes and all charges of management. Thus the exclusive use and absolute disposal of land not being possible in a state of society, the power of alienating land may be taken as the criterion of property in land, the person who has the right to alienate it being properly described as the owner of the property. This is in

The power to alienate, the criterion.

[127] Elphinstone, *History*, pp. 79—80.
[128] Wilks, *Historical Sketches*, I, p. 68.

accordance with the principle laid down by Vijñānēśvara:[129] "Indeed that which is not a person's property in a thing does not give effect to his transfer of it by sale or the like".

Let us first take up the literary evidence. This, be it remembered, exhibits more the theoretical aspect of the matter—for a book or books written during a period reflect the ideas of the time. We have two important works in this period—both written by eminent thinkers—the *Mitākṣarā* at the end of the 11th century, and the *Nyāyamālā* of the 14th.

Literary evidence.

"After diligent search", wrote Ellis,[130] "I cannot find in any work on Hindu law, text book or commentary, any positive precept, or injunction conferring on any description of persons *property in land,* though the existence of such property under a variety of terms, and for a variety of purposes, is alluded to in every page." The fact is that the thing existed in the country when the lawgivers of the country wrote or the commentators commented upon the law and it was evidently superfluous for them to prescribe what they found fully established. In treating, however, of inheritance and partition, Vijñānēśvara prefaces it with a short disquisition on the nature of ownership and the origin of proprietary right.[131]

The Mitākṣarā

[129] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā,* ii, introductory comments to verse 114, *Nahi yasya yat svam na bhavati tat tasya krayādyarthakriyām sādhayati.*

[130] Ellis, *Replies,* p. 19, n. 39.

[131] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā,* (Text) ii, Ch. 8, pp. 196—99.

But the discussion, curiously enough, starts with the assumption that private property rested in the individual; for, almost at the beginning we find the statement:—

"The property of the father as also of the paternal grandfather becomes the property of his sons or grandsons, in right of their being his sons or grandsons respectively".

And the question which the learned jurist sets himself to solve is only whether the right of ownership is deducible from *Śāstra* alone or whether it may be obtained from other means of proof.

The individual could become owner by inheritance, purchase, partition, seizure or finding; but regarding alienation "among unseparated kinsmen, the consent of all is indispensably requisite, because, since the estate is held in common, no one is fully empowered to make an alienation; but among separated kinsmen, the consent of all tends to the facility of the transaction, by obviating any future doubt as to their separation or union; it is not required on account of any want of ***sufficient power*** in the single owner, and hence the transaction is valid, even without the consent of separated kinsmen"; thus the single owner has sufficient power to alienate, and the jurist clearly connects this power of alienation with ownership.

"It is not through its visible form, either gold or the like, that the purchase of a thing is effected, but by reference to ownership. Indeed, that which is not a

person's property in a thing does not give effect to his transfer of it by sale or the like." [132]

Again in the same disquisition concerning proprietary right, the jurist says, "It is settled that ownership in the father's or grandfather's estate is by birth;........the father........is subject *to the control of his sons* and the rest in regard to the immovable estate, whether acquired by himself or inherited from his father or other predecessor, *vide* the text: 'Though immovables or bipeds have been acquired by a man himself, a gift or sale of them should not be made without convening all the sons'." It is noteworthy that while the consent of sons is made a necessary condition for the disposal of landed property, nowhere do we find mention of consent of the king being made a condition precedent to alienation of land.[133] The existence of private property is thus assumed; we have now to ask, are there any indications in the *Mitākṣarā* to show that the king was expected to safeguard the sanctity of private property? There is one passage which, to me, seems conclusive. The passage is this:—

When, however, another person says, "True it is that this man first got it by gift and also was in possession, but the king gave this very field to me *after*

[132] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, (Text) ii, Ch. 8, Introductory disquisition to the chapter, p. 197.

[133] I have examined in a special note at the end of this chapter the view which holds that the consent of the king was necessary. It appears to me that the view is based on strained interpretations which the texts cited cannot bear—see note A. The Theory of Double Ownership.

purchasing from this very man[134] or that this man gave it to me after having obtained by gift, etc."

The passage clearly shows that according to the ideas of the time, the king, if he wanted to acquire land belonging to the private individual, had also to pay for it.

It may possibly be objected that this passage occurs not in a disquisition concerning land but for the purpose of illustrating a question of proof when two claim a certain thing at the same time; but this apparent objection materially strengthens the authority. We illustrate facts which are obscure by reference to facts of common occurrence, and it is clear that the practice of kings purchasing land must have been fairly well understood at the time in order that it might be used to illustrate another fact.

The Jaiminīya—Nyāyamālā.

The other great thinker of the age, Mādhavācārya has also something to say on this point. His opinion is all the more valuable as he was the prime minister in a great empire, and his opinion must have had some relation to the policy followed by its kings. In his *Jaiminīya Nyāyamālā*, commenting on the text:—

> "The *mahābhūmi*, the Public land, is it an object of gift— The king may give it away because he possesses it. The kingdom is the king's only for the sake of protection, and hence it should not be given away.".

he says:—" i. But doubts may arise. When an all powerful king gives away everything he possesses, at

[134] The italicised words are the translation of '*Krayeṇa labdhvā*, Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 17.

the commencement of the Viśvajit sacrifice, is he to give away, the *māhabhūmi* which is inclusive of paths for cattle, highways and tanks? (The doubt arises because) the Earth is wealth—*Vide* the *Smṛti* which says, 'The king may claim the property of all except that of the Brahmans'.

ii. "We reply: the *Smṛtis* enjoin that the king's sovereignty is meant to punish the wicked and to protect the good. No, the earth is not the king's property. But it is the common property of all living beings for them to enjoy the fruit of their labour. Therefore though he (the king) has the right to give away that portion of the land that is not common (public—*asādhāraṇa*) he cannot give away the *mahābhūmi*".[135]

It is thus clear that according to Vijñānēśvara and Mādhavācārya, the state had no ownership in the land. They were to protect the landed property of the subjects for which they were paid a revenue. It now remains to see how far practice agreed with the theory; ideas

Inscriptional evidence.

[135]Mādhavācārya: *Jaiminīya Nyāyamālā*, p. 358.

Dēyā na vā mahābhūmiḥ
Svatvād rājā dadātu tām
Pālanasyaiva rājyatvāt
Na svam bhūrdīyate na sā

'Yadā sārvabhaumō rājā viśvajidādau sarvasvam dadāti tadā gōpatha-rājamārga jalāśayādyanvitā mahābhūmiḥ tēna dātavyā.

Kutaḥ:—bhūmeḥ tadīya dhanatvāt "rājā sarvasya iṣṭe brāhmaṇa-varjam" iti smṛteḥ iti prāpte.

Brūmaḥ—duṣṭa śikṣā śiṣṭa paripālanābhyām rājña īśitṛtvam smṛtyabhipretam—iti na rājño bhūmirdhanam. Kim tu tasyām bhūmau sva karma phalam bhuñjānānām sarveṣām prāṇinām sādhāraṇam dhanam ataḥ asādhāraṇasya bhūkhaṇḍasya satyapi dāne mahābhūmerdānam nāsti

may be sound, but if the king acted against all current conceptions, the theory remains a dead letter, so far as historical practice is concerned. And here we touch upon inscriptional evidence, which we may say represents the practical aspect of the question.

Here again the key to a proper understanding of the whole question lies in the idea that the fact of the land being alienable ascertains the existence of property and that the right to alienate identifies the proprietor.

The inscriptions recording alienation of property are so varied in their character that it is advisable to treat them under certain categories. Alienation takes the form of sales and gifts, but, in so far as the power to dispose of is concerned, this effects practically no difference.[136]

Classification: royal and private alienation.

A better classification would be into royal and private alienations, according to the agency which had the power of disposal—for it brings into clearer relief the question who was the owner of the land.

i. Royal.

What did the king alienate? An analysis of many inscriptions published gives us the following kinds of alienation made by the king—from the point of view of the rights alienated.

i. Full ownership—with the power to sell, mortgage or give away.

[136] This difference is noticed here, for this reason that royal alienations took the form, in the main, of gifts.

ii. The right of collecting taxes and other dues which the king enjoyed before he granted the land.

A point of ambiguity is raised by the mention in inscriptions of alienations of *villages* and of *lands.* When the state alienates a whole village, two positions are possible:—i. it may be an occupied village. ii. it may be a village newly founded and made over to a group of grantees for colonisation as in the case of *agrahāras.* Similarly when it is an alienation of lands, it may be lands owned by private individuals or village communities, or unoccupied cultivable land.

Villages.

In the case of alienation of villages under cultivation, the presumption is that the state intends to convey only its rights to the grantee, which is the right to receive the royal share of the produce, and the rights of the persons in the soil such as village land-holders, permanent tenants, district and village officers and of persons holding by previous grants under it remain unaffected by the grant, even though their rights are not expressly reserved.[137] Numerous examples might be

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[137] *Mirāsi Right*, p. 91.

It must be said that though it was not supposed that existing land holders would be ejected or otherwise made to suffer there was certainly no thought of legal principles or defining the grantee's position and there was nothing to prevent the change of the grantee's descendants into proprietary communities *in course of time*, especially if supervision and control was lax; moreover, as Baden-Powell has pointed out, the right to bring the waste under cultivation was a very valuable right, and this was the beginning of the process by which the grantee became the landlord of the whole village (Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, p. 297); and as religious grants were not revocable in principle, the descendants had ample opportunities. But the point cannot be too strongly emphasized that all this was only a possible *later* development to which the grantee did not *originally* lay claim.

cited, but two will suffice. An inscription dated 1207 A.D. clearly states: Allotted to this lord of Vaṭāṭavī all the revenues due to the king in the villages;[138] also a Karṇāta grant states clearly that all the rights of sovereignty were resigned on this village.[139] But where the king wanted to make a complete gift of such occupied villages including full ownership, these were either purchased and made over to the grantee or provision was made in the deed of grant providing for such purchase.

Example: 1. An inscription[139a] on the south wall in the Tanjore temple. Date—35th year of Tribhuvana-cakravartin Kōnērinmai-koṇḍān.

Subject matter: Grant of the village of Śunganda-virtta—Śōḻanallūr. The village was divided into 108 shares, of which 106 were to be enjoyed by the Brahmans of the village of Sāmantanārāyaṇa-catur-vēdimangalam near Tañjāvūr and 2 by the temple of Sāmantanārāyaṇa-Viṇṇagar-Emberumān in the village. The granted village *had been purchased* from its former owners by a high officer of the king who made the grant at his instance and on his behalf[140] and the village was conferred on the Brahmans with the right to bestow, mortgage, or sell it.

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[138] 1207 A.D.—Tiruvālangāḍu, North Arcot District. *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 124, verse 21.

Asmai Vaṭāṭaviśāya śakābdē dhīrayāyini
grāmēṣv—asya nṛpa-grāhyam
prādād—āyam—aśēṣataḥ.

[139] *J.R.A.S.*, 1837, p. 285.

[139a] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 22; italics are mine.

[140] *Paḻam kāṇiyāreyum mudalil tavirttu*, line 7, second tier—ibid.

Example: 2. An inscription[140a] of Rāja Rāja I.

Grant of certain villages to temples having replaced the former owners and ryots.

The Tiruvālangāḍu plates of the sixth year of Rājēndra Cōḷa I make the point quite clear. Lines 14—15 of the text in plate X (a) say that the village of Paḷaiyanūr was granted to the temple having removed from this day the old name and the previous owners of these lands (*Munpuḍaiyāreyum paḷampēreyum tavirttu*) and it further says that it was decided to give to the members of the assembly of Śingaḷāntaka-caturvēdimangalam a village *in exchange for* Paḷaiyanūr which was a *Brahmadēya* of the assembly of this Śingaḷāntaka-caturvēdimangalam.[141] Private property in land was obviously a fact, when the state felt it necessary to give compensation for land taken from private individuals and communities.

The case is different in grants of villages to a group of individuals. New villages were created by the will of the state in order to establish Brahman colonies. They were laid out on definite lines and houses were built in them for Brahmans belonging to the four *vēdic* schools who came to occupy them. In other parts of a foundation of this nature were laid out in parallel rows houses for the agriculturists dependent on the Brahmans and for others who usually belonged to a well-equipped village. Foundations of this nature were usually made by kings in unoccupied waste land and

[140a] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 92.

[141] The Tiruvālangāḍu plates, *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, p. 427.

the whole lands of the village were granted to the donees. Here the proprietary title was virtually conceded to the grantees as there was no antecedent private right to interfere.

Here again, however, if part of the land to be included in the foundation was under private ownership, the king took care to have it purchased from the private owners, before including it in the new village. A clear case of such consideration paid to private rights occurs in an inscription[142] recording that four *vēli* of land were purchased for the village site and included within it the temple, the house sites for 108 Brahmans, for men who were in charge of the village library and other village servants. In purchasing the land with its trees, wells, paths, channels, embankments indicating land-divisions (*bhāgāśraya*) and all other benefits, the rights and privileges of the old tenants and title holders were *completely bought up.*

Also for the maintenance of the 108 Brahman families and others were acquired 117¾ *vēli* of land in the village of Rājaśikhāmaṇinallūr alias Puḷiyanguḍi.

In some cases, land in exchange was given to private persons when their land was acquired. An inscription[142a] from Tiruvālangāḍu registers the order of Kaḷappāḷarāyan granting about 9½ *vēli* of land as tax-free *tirunāmattukkāṇi* to the temple of Tiruvālangāḍu Uḍayār, as *compensation for* 10½ *vēli* of the temple

[142] 277 of 1913, a summary of it is given, in *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 18; italics are mine.

[142a] 86 of 1926; italics are mine.

lands acquired by the king in the villages Śuttavali-caturvēdimangalam and Kāvanūr *alias* Janapari-pālapuram, for founding a Brāhmaṇa *agrahāra*. Similarly 100 of 1926 registers a royal gift of the village. Portions of the village had been confiscated as *vēḷḷān-vagai* from a certain Nāgan for a certain crime committed by him and the rest had been acquired by purchase or exchange from several individuals.

So far we have been concerned with villages—old and new. Often portions of villages or small plots of land were granted. Such gifts are numerous, and it might lead the incautious to suspect that the state rode roughshod over private rights. But on closer examination it will be found that the lands gifted by kings fall into one of the following four classes:—

Lands.

i. Land confiscated to the state for non-payment of revenue or treason, or for some other cause. An inscription from Kōyil Tirumāḷam, Tanjore district[143] records that the holdings of two individuals were forfeited for non-payment of revenue. 192 of 1920 similarly records the confiscation of the lands of a Brāhmaṇa for treason; such confiscated land was obviously the property of the state and could be alienated at its pleasure. No. 531 of 1921 from Emappērūr, South Arcot, dated the 13th year of Kōnērinmaikoṇḍān registers an order of Rājēndra Cōḷa-deva confiscating the lands of persons who did not settle down and had migrated and granting them to

[143] 244 of 1917.

those who settled down and cultivated on payment of taxes.

ii. Land which was the property of the crown. That there were crown lands, corresponding to the demesne lands of the English kings, there can be no reasonable doubt. In inscriptions we find references to such lands; '*rājakīyabhūmi*', the king's land, is said to be one boundary of a village.[143a]

Nuniz also refers[144] to the king's *own* lands, the king's home farm, so to speak,—the *De fazemda*, and as Sewell remarks, "The system is well known in India, where a prince holds what are called *khās* lands, i.e., lands held privately for his own personal use and benefit, as distinct from the lands held under him by others, the revenue of which last ought to go to the public purse"[145] and the king was obviously at liberty to alienate such lands. An inscription[145a] from Tirumalai, Ramnad district, dated 1196 A.D. records a gift of land from the personal property of the king for the morning service in the temple.

iii. Land which was cultivable, but unoccupied. It is not quite correct to say that only cultivated, occupied land was gifted away. Says Wilks,[146] "I have never seen an ancient royal grant (which are always for religious purposes), excepting of one or more townships, or of a portion of a township, whose limits, on every side are exactly described: in

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143a *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 113, line 33.

144 Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 384; italics mine.

145 Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 384, n.

145a 27 of 1924.

146 Wilks, *Historical Sketches*, I, p. 82.

short, of land already in culture, and paying revenue. The Bramin grantee would reject as a meagre compliment the gift of waste land, destitute of inhabitants to till it." This statement has, however, to be modified in the light of inscriptions published since Wilks's time, for there are grants of land of cultivable waste, which the grantee brought under cultivation. In such cases, since there was no antecedent right, the proprietary right was granted from the time of the grant itself.

A Nellore inscription[147] records a grant of 1000 *kuṇṭas* of dry waste land to a priest. A Mysore inscription[148] says, "we grant to you the tract of land bounded as follows:—......in which you may cut down the jungle and form fields".

The question arises, in such cases of unoccupied waste grants, had not the state some proprietary right? The question is answered in the words of Nicholson:—

"Once handed over (it) is, *quo ad hoc*, the ryots' indefeasible property, to use, alienate, or bequeath, as he thinks fit, subject only to the payment of assessment." [149]

iv. If, however, the land which was desired to be granted was in the hands of a private individual or a village community it was purchased by the state and made over to the grantee. We cite here a few examples:

[147] *Nellore Inscriptions*, 1, p. 478.

[148] 1416 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, X, Mulbāgal, 7.

[149] Nicholson, *Coimbatore*, II, p. 289.

An inscription[150] of Sundara Cōḷa Pāṇḍya from Tiruvālīśvaram, Tinnevelly refers to a gift of land by the king after purchasing it from the *sabhā* of Rāja-rāja-caturvēdimangalam.

Mahārāja Hastivarma purchased from the residents of the Brāhmaṇa village of Hoṇḍevāka in the district land to the extent of 2½ *halas*.[151]

The same procedure was adopted when the Queen wanted to make gifts[152] for feeding persons, or for laying out a flower garden in the temple, etc. The land had to be bought out.

Other examples come from Travancore.

i. King Karunandaḍakkan gradually purchased from the *sabhā* of Miñciṟai the plot of land locally known as the *Uḷakkuḍiviḷai*.[153]

ii. A chief made a grant of land. "All this land, lying within these (boundaries),........had been obtained by paying money to, and exchanging the ownership of, those who previously held the right of *kārāṇmai*".[154]

iii. Land having the sowing capacity of 13 *paṟa* of paddy was purchased by King Vīra-Udayamārttāṇḍavarman Tiruvaḍi.[155]

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[150] 327 of 1916.
[151] *A.R.E.*, 1920, part ii, paras 2 and 3.
[152] 1034 A.D., 303 of 1917.
165 of 1925.
485 of 1925.
South Ind. Inscr., III, 151.
South Ind. Inscr., III, 194.
[153] 864-5 A.D., *Trav. Arch. Series*, I, 1.
[154] X century, *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, 22.
[155] 1168 A.D., *Trav. Arch. Series*, V, p. 74, no. 24.

iv. Land was granted to the temple tax-free and so as to include the right of *kāraṇmai,* after the old tenants and its old name were removed.[156]

v. The king gave land to a Brahman. To acquire this land the king paid a sum of 550 *paṇam,* which were paid in the temple treasury (he got *dēvadāna* land) and the *kāṇiyāṭci* right was conferred upon the aforesaid person, who was directed to take possession of the land and enjoy with all rights.[157]

We may cite one example from Bangalore.

The members of the assembly of Irājēndiraśinga Śaruppēdimangalam sold 300 *kuḷi* of land to the *paramasvāmigaḷ* of this village: "We sold the land, having received money from the king".[158]

The examples quoted above, from different places and different times, go to show that kings of the land, in practice respected private property. Another positive proof of this spirit is seen in an inscription from Shimoga, which says, "If any one in your village dies without children, brothers or other posterity, all their jewels and property, whatever it may be, we will distribute among claimants of the same *gōtra* as the deceased. ....Moreover, we will not take as forfeited to the palace the property of those who are childless." This resolve is a good instance of the regard paid to the sanctity of private property, when kings of the land deemed it unfair to appropriate

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[156] XIII century, Vīra Pāṇḍya, *Trav. Arch. Series,* II, 3.

[157] 1494 A.D., *Trav. Arch. Series,* I, p. 265.

[158] *Ep. Car.,* IX, Channapaṭṇa 84, 1024 A.D.

even the property of those who were childless, but it had to go to the claimants of the same *gōtra*.[159]

The *Kāṇiyāṭci*.

We may conclude this discussion with a reference to a word frequently occurring in the Tamil inscriptions used to indicate property. It is *Kāṇiyāṭci*.[160]

On account of the importance of the word, we may quote the meaning given to it in one of our earliest Tamil lexicons and also the latest. "In Beschi's Dictionary of the High Tamil, the first member of the compound is thus explained,[161]—"காணி – உரிமை" (property) and the second thus,— "ஆட்சி-ஆண்மை" (*dominion, power*)—"உரிமை" (*property*) : in his Tamil-Latin Dictionary, the first thus,—" காணி—2° id ad quod jus habemus hereditarium, sic காணியாளன் qui habet hujusmodi jus; in hoc sensu additur etiam ஆட்சி hine காணியாட்சிக்காறன் qui habet tale jus",—and the second member thus,—" ஆட்சி Appell. ab ஆளுகிறது, quod fere semper unitur alii subst. sic. காணியாட்சி (*cāṇiyāṭci*) *dominium ex jure hereditatis*."[162] காணி *cāṇi* is derived from the root கண *see, mark,* and signifies literally *that which is seen, marked, or recognized,* and secondarily *hereditary property;* ஆட்சி from ஆள் *āḷ rule, govern,* whence also ஆண் *āṇ, one who governs himself, a man* (*vir*) *a male* generally, is a verbal in a reciprocating or reflective sense, and means, therefore, *self-rule, freedom from all restraint, manhood, independence,* etc. *Cāṇiyāṭci,* as thus deduced, signifies, therefore, *that which is*

[159] *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Nagar, 5.

[160] 118, 119, 121, 122, 123, 124 of 1916. 370, 373, 497, 536, 552, 560, 597 and 598 of 1917.

[161] Quoted in Ellis, *Replies*, p. 6 n.

[162] Quoted in Ellis, *Replies*, p. 6 n.

held in free and hereditary property," over which the holder possesses dominion or full power.

In the *Tamil Lexicon*[163] one of the latest of our Tamil dictionaries, the word is explained thus:

Kāṇi-yāṭci—Hereditary right to land, to offices, to fees, to an estate or to a kingdom, domain obtained by inheritance: that which is held as free and hereditary property; estate, one's own possession. It is relevant to note that the learned editor is not confining himself to modern usage, but has also taken into account ancient usage—as it occurs in the inscriptions; he quotes an inscription of date śaka 1291 (1369 A. D.).[164]

The ideas implied in the word *Kāṇiyāṭci* closely correspond to the Sanskrit word *Kṣētrasvāmyam,* used in the *Mitākṣarā.*[165]

So far we have dealt with royal alienations. The analysis shows that royal alienations respected the existence of private property in land. Alienations of land by private individuals and village communities are also found in very large numbers; it is not necessary to go at length into them, for it is obvious that when private parties could alienate land, of their own accord, with no reference to the consent of the king, the fact becomes established; it is superfluous to dilate upon it.

ii. Alienations by private agencies.

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[163]Published by the Madras University.

[164]Kāñcīpuram Inscription. *South Ind. Inscr.,* I, 88, p. 124, lines 33 and 34. *Mēlaitteruvil orumaḍamum kāṇiyāṭciyum kuḍutta aḷavukku.*

[165]Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā,* ii, 161.

svāmin—a proprietor, owner and *svāmyam*—ownership, right to property, Apte, *Dictionary,* q. v. *svāmya* and *svāmin.*

ii. *Joint Tenure*

1. Introductory.

In the last section we discussed the question of tenure from the point of view of public versus private ownership of land; granting that private property existed there still remains the question, whether it was individual or collective, i.e. whether the village consisted of a number of independent cultivators who owned their land each in severalty, or whether all the land in the village was owned in common by its inhabitants. Our understanding of the economic life of the village community must very largely be affected by an answer to this question; accordingly, we propose to place the available evidence before the reader with the conclusions to which it leads.

Work of previous writers on the subject.

The problem as stated here is not a new one. The late Sir H. S. Maine, in his *Village Communities*[166] first took up the study on an all-India basis, and, on the then collected evidence put forward a theory of 'ownership in common' which he applied to the Indian village community in general. Baden-Powell,[167] working on the basis of Maine, and with the aid of much more material, tried to show the weakness in the argument of Maine, that it was applicable only to one type of village: the joint village and that another large class of villages—the *ryotwāri*—was untouched by the argument of Maine.

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[166] 1st edition, 1871.

[167] Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, pp. 1—37. Baden-Powell, *Village Communities*, 1st edition, 1899, 2nd edition, 1908.

The material on which Baden-Powell relied for his conclusions consisted, in the main, of settlement reports and the valuable series of district manuals for the Madras districts and the gazetteer volumes for Bombay, *the Fifth Report* and the *Mirāsi papers*. In tracing the origins, he also relied partly on Megasthenes, Muir's *Ancient Sanskrit Texts,* and Tod's *Annals of Rajasthān.* Thus his work covered a vast area and a long period of time.

Our problem.

The task attempted here is more limited in scope; we do not essay to go into the question of origins, we do not take up the whole of India or the whole period of its history. Our task is more specific. We propose to examine the large volume of evidence collected since Baden-Powell's researches on the subject, relating to South India in the middle ages, and with the aid of such evidence indicate whether the village community was joint or separate or both. It is a remarkable proof of the scientific precision of Baden-Powell's work that the contemporary South Indian evidence to which he had no access, in the main, supports his conclusions, as will be seen in the sequel.

Value of Baden-Powell's work and of the evidence published since.

This evidence, however, is more elaborate and detailed in one respect viz., the close connexion between joint tenure and management of local affairs; the differences noticeable in such management furnish a valuable criterion to confirm the existence of two types

of villages, the joint and the ryotwari and to determine the distribution of both.

Let us first make clear the full implications of the term 'joint tenure' or 'ownership in common'. The right to land grows out of two ideas; one is that a special claim arises to any object or to a plot of land by virtue of the labour and skill expended in making it useful or profitable; the other that a claim arises from conquest or superior right. In a joint village, this right to land is held in common—the community forms one proprietary unit in relation to the land. Varieties of this are possible and may exist together.[168] In general, the community has collective ownership over the whole or part of the village lands.

2. Joint tenure: its implications.

In contrast, in the other form of village, the group of holdings forms in no sense a proprietary unit, and in the words of Baden-Powell, the term 'community' is properly applied to the group of landholders only so long as it is employed to indicate the connexion which a group of cultivators must have when located in one place, bound by certain customs, with certain interests in common, and possessing within the circle of their village the means of local government, and of satisfying the wants of life without much reference to neighbouring villages.[169] The several portions of the village are allotted or taken up severally and are enjoyed quite independently—there is no community of interest in the cultivated lots.

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[168] Infra, p. 125.

[169] Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, p. 9.

Our problem reduces itself to this: are there any signs of the community of interest in the land in this period?—if there are, are they to be found everywhere? The first is a question of the nature of joint land ownership found in the country at the time, the second, a question of distribution, to an answer to both of which the inscriptions give us a lead.

Our problem twofold:—i. Community of interest in land—ii. distribution of joint villages.

The signs of collective ownership are of varied character:

3. Community of interest in land.

i. Complete ownership in common involving common cultivation and common enjoyment of the whole land of a village, each member of the community receiving a share of the produce.

ii. Part rotation and part common, that is, the land allotted to each individual was not his for all time, the lots being subject to periodical redistribution, in order to ensure equality for all; in addition, the individual had a share in the profits accruing from an unappropriated common land, controlled by the collective body.

iii. Part severalty and part common; here each household had its own particular plot of land which it owned free from control on the part of the community. The part ownership in common has reference only to the individual's share of profit from the area of land owned by the collective body.

We shall now go into greater details regarding each of these:—

i. When a village was granted to a group of individuals, what was the benefit the donees received?

i. Complete ownership in common.

Each of them received either a share in the total yield of the village or a portion of the land of the village earmarked as his own. If it was the former, all the land in the village was held and managed in common by the donees acting together as share holders, each person receiving his proportion of whatever it yielded of grain; if it was the latter, the land itself was sub-divided, care being taken to secure that the land allotted to each donee comprised dry and wet land of different degrees of fertility in order to allow a substantial degree of equality to the shares.

Both forms were in vogue. A failure to perceive this distinction leads to a misunderstanding of the varieties of tenure prevalent in South India in the middle ages; the difficulty is increased by the fact that in many cases inscriptions do not specify whether the benefit granted to the donee was a share in income or share of land. But clear examples do occur. A village was divided into shares and granted to a number of Brahmans: 'All the Brahmans of the immemorial agrahāra Hiriyanallūr, at the time of the settlement of Tuyyalarakeṟe and Baṭṭeyūr made an agreement on stone as follows:—of the 30 shares of wet land under the Heggaḍe tank at Tuyyalarakere, all the money-rent and grain-rent belongs to the Brahmans who hold those shares (the same as regards

30 shares in Baṭṭeyūr). The fixed rent that is received ......for the 2 villages, will be divided equally between the holders of the 60 shares'.[170] An instance of the latter may be found in 462 of 1921 which records gift of lands divided into 114½ shares by the king in the villages to certain Brahmans at 4 *mā* of wet land and 1 *mā* of dry land per share.

Taking the former type, it is remarkable that even as late as 1812, such villages continued to exist in the peninsula. *The Fifth Report* says, regarding this tenure, "The lands held......are of course of greater or less extent; sometimes, comprehending a whole village or more, but generally, part of a village only." It adds that, to avoid too much sub-division, "it is the general practice throughout the Peninsula to preserve the original property in its *entirety* as long as possible, by letting it stand in the names of those who have the principal shares, in it; to whom it is left to manage it, for the common benefit of all interested; each person receiving his proportion of whatever it yields of grain."[171]

The economy may be described thus: The village lands of such villages were held in common; the members of the village community had the land cultivated by tenants and divided the produce according to each man's *pangu* or share i.e. there were no separate allotments of lands to individuals and the property was a right to a certain share or a number of shares in the

[170] 1215 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, VI, Kaḍūr 132; See also *Ep. Car.*, III, Seringapatam 64.

[171] *The Fifth Report*, II, pp. 84—85.

produce. It was apparently incumbent on each shareholder to bear his share of the common expenses of cultivation including labour. The only separate land he could hold was the garden or backyard attached to his house and situated within the limits of the village site.

The term *gaṇabhōgya* (as contrasted with *ēka-bhōgya, ēkabōga* and *ēgabōgya grāma,* which plainly indicate a sole and entire right of enjoyment—occurring in a grant)[172] which qualifies the 22 villages that were given by Harihara II to the Brahmans on *agrahāra* terms plainly indicates a joint tenure by a number of persons.[173]

One more proof that such villages existed may be found in the practice of leasing out certain lands by and for the benefit of the joint community.

Ramnad: terms of a lease-deed entered into with the *sabhā* of Veṇṟukiḻikoṇḍanallūr by tenants.

Tanjore: agreement by the Veḷḷāḷas of Maṇaṟkuḍi alias Uttama-śōḻa-caturvēdimangalam regarding certain taxes due from them to the village assembly.[174]

The same position is conceivable also in *ēka-bhōgam* villages where the descendants of the original grantee[175] did not divide but formed a joint body in relation to the body of cultivators.

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[172] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 357, line 120, and p. 350 n. 8.

[173] cf. *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, pp. 436 and 271.

[174] 553 of 1926 and 35 of 1925. See also *A.R.M.*, 1924, 10.

[175] 301 of 1909: village granted to one individual.

ii. But, as under the system there is little encouragement to individual industry, and as therefore the cultivation is apt to be inefficient and the yield poor, there inevitably arises the necessity for the next step in agricultural improvement, viz., that of allotting to each shareholder in the village a certain portion to cultivate and enjoy the fruits thereof. But the element of joint ownership does not completely disappear; it is retained in a twofold way:—

ii. Part rotation and part common.

i. in the right of periodical redistribution of land,

ii. in the joint ownership over a portion of the village—which consisted either of waste land or inferior fields of which the cultivation was precarious; these were therefore such lands as it was expedient not to divide or such as were not worth dividing; hence a portion of the profits from such land went to each share-holder.

Instead of being the evolution due to circumstances such as those indicated above, such a state of things might arise also by the terms of the original grant when land was granted to a group of colonists, the land itself being divided equally among them. In any event, we find numerous examples of such forms of tenure in our inscriptions of the period.

Such a village in Tamil districts was known by the name of '*karaiyīḍ*'.[176] Apart from the occurrence of

[176] 205 of 1912, 213 of 1912, *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 22, second tier, line 1.

the name, however, few detailed descriptions of the process of redistribution have come down to us from the Tamil districts. A comparatively late instance of such a division has, however, been described in the pages of the *Indian Antiquary*.[177] In a village say of 20 *vēlis* a certain unit would be fixed as what is called a '*pangu*' or 'share' and is in some villages 1 *vēli* and in others varies from 1¼ to 3 *vēli*. The village is divided according to its extent into from four to ten *karai* or blocks, to each of which so many shares are allotted. Thus in a village of 20 *vēli* there might be 15 shares apportioned to four blocks of land among 12 share-holders, each block containing the land of three share-holders. There would be one headman for each *karai* —the *karaikāran;* and the sub-division of each *karai* by the *karaikāran* would be by lot or mutual consent.

Examples of redistribution come from the Kanarese country as well. All the *mahājanas* of Karuviḍi, agreeing among themselves, resolved to divide the estate equally among the families and set up a stone in the Hoysalēśvara temple. Collecting into one all the wet lands, dry lands and garden lands and all other parts of Haḷḷiyūr and Hiriyūr, they divided them into 125 shares and grouped them into parts. When once the division had been made by common agreement there was to be no dispute about the equality of the divisions. Each part had to construct its own tanks and ponds and each village had its own customary boundary and whoever transgressed these regulations

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[177] See Stokes, *Karaiyīḍ*, *Ind. Ant.*, III, pp. 65—69.

came under the orders of Vīra Baḷḷāḷa and Tōya Singeya-daṇṇāyaka.[178]

The custom of redistribution was apparently prevalent not merely among villages owned by the Brahman community. The Śāliya-nagarattār, the weaver class at Tiruppālatturai, Tanjore, is said to have redistributed their lands in the year 1190 A.D.[179]

The desire for redistribution must obviously have arisen from the desire for equality. Originally, the individual shareholders must have been in possession of equal areas of land, and roughly equal in quality: we are told in one of the grants e.g. that 112 *vṛttis* were distributed in such a way that each had an equal share of best, middling and inferior soil.[180]

iii. Part severalty and part common.

iii. The tendency of such collective villages to make the division permanent instead of dividing the cultivated lands periodically according to the share of land held by each is apparent in many inscriptions. Such a change is the natural course of things and must precede every material improvement. If one part of the lands of a village has advantages over the other in some respects, the common tenure will be acceptable to the proprietors by giving to all in their turn the benefit of the favoured land but when the advantages of the several lots of land are nearly equal, the occupants will in general wish to keep their own permanently because

178 *Ep. Car.*, XII, Tiptur 83; See also 174 of 1916. Equal distribution (*paguṟṟu*) of land among themselves by the landholders of Tiruppukkuḻi.

179 *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 38, 441 of 1912.

180 *Ep. Car.*, III, Seringapatam 64.

no man ever labours with the same spirit to improve what he is to share with another as what he is to retain exclusively for himself. We see this process in many inscriptions. In 1231, the *mahājanas* of Mallikārjunapura considering that the former division was not equal,[181] had the wet and dry fields of the village, measured by agents, and agreeing among themselves, on the principle that all were equal and should share alike, made a *permanent* settlement of the *vṛttis*. All those who had agreed to this settlement could not dispute the equality of the shares if anything should befall from the act of God or from the inroad of wild tribes. In whatever village any sale or gift took place, this settlement was not to be transgressed.

Again, the Brahmans of Kūṭanamaḍuvu assembling in the council hall, and, agreeing among themselves, made a *permanent* division of their village. The fixed proportion had to be observed for ever and whoever transgressed these rules incurred the wrath of the Emperor Vīra Narasimha and of Sōvaladēvi and was to be excommunicated from the three hundred and the thirty-two thousand.[182]

Thirty years later, the Brahmans of the immemorial *agrahāra* Vijayagōpālapura, agreeing among themselves, made the following division of the Niringunda villages belonging to their land so *as to form a permanent contract*........[183]

[181] *Munnina vibhāgavu samavallendu*, 1231 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, V, Channarāyapaṭṇa 170.

[182] 1290, 1291 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, VI, Tarīkere 53, 54 and 55.

[183] 1324 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, XII, Tiptūr 43; see details of the shares belonging to each; altogether 100 shares.

In such cases, however, the element of joint ownership lay in the share in the common waste land which continued to be at the absolute disposal of the joint body.[184]

4. Features incident to joint tenure: The broad differences.

We have distinguished between three classes of villages distinguished by the degree of collective ownership over the land property of the village; in the first all property was collective, the individual having a share only in the yield; in the second all property was collective in theory but the right of the community being delegated to the individual for a time—except over that portion of the land which had not been divided: in other words, individual property existed—*for a period*; in the third, the community had a right only over that portion of land which belonged to it collectively the rest being owned severally by individuals. We find these three kinds existing side by side; it is difficult to postulate that *all property passed through these three stages* before finally all traces of collective ownership disappeared.

1. The right to alienate.

Where elements of common ownership existed, the community had the right to alienate that portion of village land, which it jointly owned. In theory in the first class of villages, this right could be exercised over all the land of the village, but obviously it could not dispose of the whole property without ceasing to exist as a

[184] See infra, p. 134.

community; in the two latter only the unappropriated land could be alienated. In fact it is this incident of joint tenure which comes prominently to view in our study of the sources for this period. Alienations of land by sale, gift, or exchanges and conversely acquisitions by joint bodies are plentiful. The frequent mention of such alienation is likely to mislead the incautious into concluding that some element of collective ownership persisted in *all* villages; this is essentially a question of distribution of joint villages; and is touched upon later.[185] Here we need only remark that such alienations of joint land taking the form of gift or exchange or purchase occur in cases of *sabhā*,[186] *ūrōm*,[187] or *ūrār*,[188] *nāḍu*,[189] *mahānāḍu*,[190] *nagaratār*,[191] or *nagarattōm*,[192] and *mahājanas*.[193] It is safe to say that the right to alienate collectively was incident to joint-tenure and that where such alienations occur collectively, some sort of joint ownership existed, complete or partial.

ii. Pre-emption.

In the second and third classes of villages, the joint body seems to have claimed another right. The co-sharing body were often desirous of excluding strangers as well as securing to themselves the chance of

185 Infra, p. 154.
186 *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 10, 28.
187 669 of 1904.
188 428 of 1905.
189 *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dāvaṇagere 105.
190 216 of 1918.
191 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 91.
192 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 15.
193 438 of 1926.

augmenting their own holdings. This desire gave rise to the custom of pre-emption. In general the intending vendor whether of his whole share or of any field or plot must offer it at a fair value to one of the members of the same village before selling to any outsider. The villagers of Māngāḍu agreed among themselves that any owner of land in the village of Māngāḍu desirous of selling his land must sell it to a landowner within that village and not to any outsider nor could he give (even as dowry—*strīdhana*) lands in the village to an outsider.[194] This outsider, moreover, was in many cases required to be of the same superior caste: "If any among the shareholders mortgages or sells his share to Śūdras, he shall be put out of the Brahman community, and such shares shall not belong to this place."[195]

iii. Management of local affairs.

The rights of collective alienation and of pre-emption were two important incidents of joint tenure; the management of local affairs was a third.

The close connexion between joint tenure and local administration has not been properly stressed, and some errors have crept in on account of ignoring this factor in a study of South Indian administration.

Venkayya's contribution.

It is more than thirty years since Venkayya published[196] his now famous account of village administration in Southern India in the first half of the 10th

[194] 354 of 1908, *A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, para 67; 779 of 1922, Guntur.

[195] *Ep. Car.*, III, Maḷavaḷḷi 121.

[196] *A.R.E.*, 1899, part ii, paras 58—73.

century A. D. The essential features of that administration as were evidenced by inscriptions at Ukkal[197] and at Uttaramallūr[198] were :—(i) the South Indian village was governed by the village assembly, (ii) the village assembly had under its control a number of committees notably the 'Tank Supervision', 'Garden Supervision', 'Gold Supervision', '*Pañca-vāra-vāriyam*', 'Supervision of Justice' and 'Annual Supervision' committees, (iii) these committees were elected and (iv) certain qualifications were prescribed for membership in these committees. After discussing these points elaborately and also referring to the existence of some committees in the Telugu districts, Venkayya[199] expressed the opinion, "It may be inferred that the committee system of village administration which appears to have been common in the Tamil districts was also prevalent in a portion, at least, of the Telugu country during the first half of the 10th century A.D. In fact, until the contrary is proved, it may be assumed that the system prevailed over a considerable portion of Southern India."[200]

Later inscriptions.

Since he wrote many new inscriptions[201] have been discovered, confirming *in the main* the learned Epigraphist's thesis, the

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[197] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 1—14.

[198] *South Ind. Inscr.*, VI, 283 to 325 and 332 to 377, *A.R.E.*, 1899, part ii, paras 58—73.

[199] *Ep. Ind.*, V. p. 137, text lines 27—28; in the village vangiparru *vāra-gōṣṭh(i)ṣu vāgminaḥ paṁca vārīm samāpayya saṁapūjyante mahajanaiḥ.*

[200] *A.R.E.*, 1899, part ii, para 73.

[201] Of these may be noted—

Tiruppāṛkaḍal, North Arcot district, 688-691 of 1904, *A.R.E.*, 1905., part ii, para 7.

notable advance made being the mention of other committees—*the wards,* the fields committee, the village committee, *the udāsīna committee,*[202] the land survey committee,[203] *the ūr vāriyam,*[204] accounts committee,[205] the wet fields committee,[206] the sluice committee,[207] the temple committee,[207a] and the fields supervision

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1459 A.D., Kāvēripākkam, 392-393 of 1905.

423 of 1906, 449 of 1906, *A.R.E.*, 1907, part ii, para 26.

212 of 1907.

38 of 1911.

302 of 1911.

131 and 269 of 1912, *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, paras 23 and 33.

257 of 1912, *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 12.

262 of 1913.

398 of 1913.

512 of 1913.

92 of 1914.

Mānūr 178 of 1915, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 10.

226 of 1915, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 8.

A.R.E., 1916, part ii, para 8.

217 of 1917, *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 67.

553 of 1921.

240, 241 of 1922, *A.R.E.*, 1922, part ii, para 16.

37, 66, 163, 164, 166, 167, 174, 178, 182, 185, 187, 188 and 189 of 1923, *A.R.E.*, 1923, part ii, para 30.

99 and 213 of 1925.

430 of 1926.

431 of 1926.

148 of 1927.

South Ind., Inscr., III, 99.

[202] *A.R.E.*, 1905, part ii, para 7.

[203] 262 of 1913.

[204] 269 of 1912, *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 23, 38 of 1911.

[205] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, pp. 327, 329.

[206] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 156.

[207] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 156.

[207a] The *Kāḷigaṇattar, Śāttagaṇattār*, etc.—189 of 1923, 37 of 1923, *A.R.E.*, 1923, part ii, para 30.

committee—[208] and more details relating to the constitution of the village assembly and its relation to the committees. Distinguished writers[209] have also accepted these conclusions originally worked out by the Government Epigraphists and have even held that the sphere of local government exhibits a noteworthy democratic development in ancient India.[210]

Different types.

An intensive study of the inscriptions, however, raises certain issues which deserve more consideration than they have generally obtained. The management of local affairs by local bodies was not of a uniform type. Inscriptions mention different types of local organisation, with different degrees of control exercised by local bodies over the affairs of the village. The most important of such are:

The Sabhā,[211] *Mahāsabhā,*[212] *Mahāsabhaiyōm,*[213] *The Mahājanas,*[214] *Brahmasabhā,*[215] *Perunguṛi,*[216] *Perunguṛimakkaḷ,*[217] *Kuṛi,*[218] *Kūṭṭam,*[219] *Kūṭṭapperu-*

[208] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 156.

[209] Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *Ancient India*, pp. 158 ff., Mookerji, *Local Government*, pp. 90 ff., pp. 148 to 163. Smith, *History*, p. 212, Subramania Iyer, *Historical Sketches*, pp. 318-28.

[210] Mookerji, *Local Government*, p. 22.

[211] *South Ind. Inscr.*, I, 85.

[212] 422 of 1906.

[213] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 28, line 7 [text].

[214] 89 of 1908, *A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, para 68.

[215] 452 of 1926.

[216] *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 90.

[217] 225 of 1925.

[218] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 10, line 12.

[219] *South Ind. Inscr.*, I, 147.

makkaḷ,[220] *Naṭṭār*,[221] *Ūrār*,[222] *Ūrōm*,[223] *Nagarattār*,[224] and *Nagarattōm*.[225]

The functions exercised by these bodies cover a wide range: looking to the construction,[226] and maintenance of irrigational works,[227] management of temples,[228] selling[229] and purchasing[230] lands, collection,[231] and remission[232] of taxes, altering the classification of land,[233] management of charities,[234] taking charge of deposits of money,[235] lending and borrowing money,[236] levying fines,[237] controlling village servants[238] and leasing lands[239] appear to have been done by most of these bodies.

But we are interested in the differences rather than in the uniformities. From this standpoint, the study becomes of absorbing interest: while information con-

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220 228 of 1925.

221 *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 98, p. 514.

222 *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 57, para 2.

223 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 53.

224 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 91.

225 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 15, 16.

226 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 5.

227 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 156.

228 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 156.

229 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 10.

230 432 of 1917, *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 48.

231 192 of 1919, *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 17.

232 526 of 1918.

233 186 of 1919.

234 349 of 1921.

235 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 1.

236 397 of 1913.

237 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 6.

238 583 of 1904.

239 432 of 1917, *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 48.

cerning the constitution of these various bodies is still insufficient in many respects, it is remarkable that the committee organisation is confined to one particular type of villages—viz., the *caturvēdimangalam*. It is worth while going into some details regarding the constitution of this type of village:—

The Caturvēdi-mangalam.

The *caturvēdimangalam* as the term denotes was a village inhabited by Brahmans who professed the four vedas. Often it was denoted by kindred names, *Brahmadēya*,[240] *Mangalam*,[241] *Agaram*,[242] *Brahmapuram*,[243] *Agrahāra*,[244] *Agara-brahmadēya*,[245] *Agara-brahmadēśa*,[246] *Brahmadēśam*[247] and *Brahmamangalam*.[248] It is not contended that a Brahman village included only those who belonged to the community of Brahmans; on the other hand we have clear evidence to show that it accommodated other classes as well—potters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths, washermen, and village servants also lived there, though in separate *cēris*, close to the Brahman quarter of the village;[249] but it was a Brahman village in the sense that the land of the village was held by the Brahman community. This Brahman community was

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[240] 239 of 1907.

[241] 422 of 1906.

[242] 393 of 1907.

[243] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, p. 154 n.

[244] 240 and 241 of 1922, *A.R.E.*, 1922, part ii, para 71.

[245] 572 of 1907.

[246] 315 of 1909, *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 34.

[247] 241 of 1927.

[248] 553 of 1904.

[249] Vikrama-Pāṇḍya—caturvēdimangalam, 277 of 1913, *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 18.

a landlord body over a class of tenants, who were bound to pay certain shares of the yield to their masters. As we pointed out above,[250] such a community might hold all the land collectively sharing the yield, or might hold individual allotments, with some portion of the village land held in common. Thus the noteworthy features about such a settlement are:—

i. It was a settlement of a non-cultivating caste.

ii. It was in general a settlement of a landlord class placed over a body of cultivating tenants.

iii. There was some element of common ownership of land in the community.

It must be made clear that *all* Brahman villages were not necessarily of this type; it is possible that *caturvēdimangalams* owed their peculiar characteristics to the fact that they owed their origin to kings, who consciously established such villages. It is significant that the *Mitākṣarā*,[251] enjoins on the king the duty of establishing such *agrahāras*. The *śrōtriyas* through grants, honours and hospitality should be induced to "settle" in his kingdom "always".

Such foundations sprang up in many parts of the country[252] especially under the Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya and Vijayanagara kings. The community were allowed a large measure of control in managing local affairs, made necessary by the fact that the inhabitants of the village

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[250] *Supra*, p. 125.

[251] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, i, 339; ii, 185 and 186.

[252] 277 of 1913; *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 18.

by the terms of the original grant or establishment of the village were bound to render certain dues and services to the land-lord body, and the latter was allowed to conduct the revenue administration in their own way.

It was to the interest of the land-lord community to see that cultivation was properly carried on, irrigational facilities were provided, and the dues received in time. To this purpose the village committees were constituted to be in charge of different kinds of work. These committees were subject to the control of a public assembly of all the joint-body for whose deliberation important administrative and judicial acts were reserved and which met in the open or in the temple.

The committee organisation, a distinctive feature of the *Caturvēdimangalam.*

The proper conception of the committee organisation as we find it mentioned in our inscriptions is thus as an agency for securing to the body of the land-holders their proper dues from the tenants. This characteristic is made clear by several facts:—

(1) Proofs: negative: absence of mention in ryotwari villages.

i. Such committees are found mentioned only in joint villages. It is arguable that this is at best negative evidence, but the fact that out of nearly 30,000 inscriptions we find such important features mentioned only in one particular type of villages raises a strong presumption in favour of the contention that such organisation was primarily economic in motive; the necessity for such developed organisations in villages of the ryotwāri type where each holder was

independent of the others in the management of his land is not so obvious.

(ii) Functions: primarily of a landlord body exercised through committees.

ii. The functions exercised by some of the committees are primarily those which a land-lord body would be expected to gain by. The *ūrvāriyam*[253] was a committee of officers whose function was evidently to see the lands of the village properly cultivated and to collect the produce; the *kaḻani-vāriyam*, the "wet fields committee"[254] was also apparently a committee to see that the proper cultivation of the lands was not neglected. Again the function of the irrigation committee is closely related to the same purpose.

(iii) Committees, constituted of share-holders.

iii. The membership of the committees was regulated by one prime qualification—that the member must have a share of land—in other words he must be one of the share-holders of the village.[255]

(iv) Village assembly also of shareholders.

iv. The qualifications for membership in the *village assembly* of Mānūr (Tinnevelly district),[256] and not merely the committees, also include land holding.

Thus it is stated that—

(1) Of the children of *share-holders* in the village only one who is well behaved and has studied

[253] 269 of 1912, *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 23.

[254] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 156 in Amaninārāyaṇa—caturvēdimangalam.

[255] *A.R.E.*, 1899, part ii, para 62.

[256] 423 of 1906, *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 23; the date of this record is earlier than 1000 A.D., probably 800 A.D.

the *Mantra-Brāhmaṇa* and one *Dharma* (i.e. Code of law) may be on the village assembly *to represent the share* held by him in the village and only one person of similar qualifications may be on the assembly for a *share* purchased, received as present or acquired by him as *strīdhana* (through his wife).

(2) Shares purchased, presented or acquired as *strīdhana* could entitle one person, if at all, only to full membership in the assemblies, and in no case should quarter, half or three-quarter membership be recognised.

(3) Those who purchase shares must elect only such men *to represent* their shares on the assembly as have critically studied a whole *vēda* with its *pariśiṣṭas.*

(4) Those who do not possess full membership as laid down by rule (2) cannot serve on any committee.

This is clear evidence to show that the village assembly and the committees were mainly concerned with the interests of the landholders in the village.

(v) Remission of taxes, its real significance.

v. Again, this feature is clear from another important function exercised by the assemblies and committees, viz., remission of taxes. Much confusion of ideas exists on this aspect of the functions exercised by the village assemblies of South India. It has been claimed that the *sabhā*—village assembly—had the power to remit taxes. The basic assumption underlying the statement is that the village assembly as a local agency was allowed powers to remit taxes on behalf of the central

government. Thus it is claimed that local government in Ancient India had reached a high stage of development as this represents a large amount of devolution of powers. The South Indian evidence does not appear to support such wide assumptions for

i. Remission of taxes by the local assembly occurs only in some instances. There are many more where the king remitted them.

ii. Invariably remission by the local agency where it occurs is made by the assembly of the joint community.

In effect what was done was this: such a joint community was made jointly responsible for the revenue due from the village. The proportion to be borne by the several holders must have been left to joint consultation and decision by the assembly of shareholders. Thus the village was assessed at a lump sum, the body of co-sharers of the village being in theory jointly and severally liable for the whole and arranging among themselves according to their own custom and constitution how much of the total each had to contribute.

Total remission on a particular piece of land meant that the assembly had otherwise to make up the amount —a course which the assembly would not be normally willing to take. In fact what we find is that 'remission' is the translation for *kāśu-koḷḷā-iṟaiyili* i.e. in consideration of money received, the taxes were remitted.[257] Often, when lands were purchased from

[257] 41, 60, 61, 68 of 1926, etc.

the assembly by private individuals, they paid both purchase money and tax money—the latter being the capital sum which would yield interest to enable the dues on the land to be paid year after year;[258] the same thing is expressed in other terms in inscriptions—*vilai poruḷ* and *iṟai poruḷ*. Thus in acknowledging receipt of the sum the assembly says that it has obtained both the price of land, (*vilaiporuḷ*) and the money for paying taxes, *iṟaiporuḷ,* by the latter term being meant the amount that is required to compound the tax for all time to come by one lump payment.[259]

If the assembly remitted taxes, without receiving compensation in the shape of a capitalised amount, it had itself to pay, and this it could only when the shareholders were prepared to make up the amount. This it did in the case of temples in some cases,[260] but in the case of temples too other instances occur, where remission was granted by the assembly on receipt of some land or money, or loan of some money, the interest of which was thus adjusted to the amount of the tax.[261]

The point emerges, therefore, that the village assemblies in joint villages had the power of remission either with compensation or without, but it was limited in the sense that they did it on their own responsibility—and that such remission should not ordinarily involve loss of revenue *to the state;* this latter could result only

[258] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 64.

[259] *Trav. Arch. Series*, IV, p. 131.

[260] 526 of 1918; *Ep. Car.*, III, Tirumakūḍal-Narśipūr, 139.

[261] 153 of 1919—the assembly made certain lands tax-free in return for the interest on money lent to them.

195 of 1915—The village assembly of a *brahmadēśam* made a land tax-free in lieu of the amount of gold which it owed to the temple.

from remissions by the central authority itself. This is illustrated in those instances where the king himself remitted taxes, both in the ryotwāri villages and joint villages; in the latter case the order went through the assembly and it is to be presumed that the village assembly would be required to pay less in the total amount assessed for the village. The assembly of Parāntaka-caturvēdimangalam, a *brahmadēya*, exempted, under the orders of the king, from the payment of taxes certain lands which they had sold to a temple.[262] The same thing happened when a reduction of taxes was recommended by the king: the assembly of Rāja-rāja-caturvēdimangalam gave effect to an order of the king stating that on lands belonging to the temple only the lowest rate of taxes need be levied.[263]

The distinction between lands, which were exempted from taxes by the village assembly on its authority—and generally on payment of capitalised money, *iṟai dravyam*,—and those remitted by the king is brought out in a phrase commonly used in inscriptions to denote the former lands viz., *ūr-kīḻ-iṟaiyili*.[264]

Again, if all the share-holders felt the desire to have a reduction of the taxes paid by them they represented the matter to the king who passed orders. On the representation made[265] by the *mahāsabhā* of Śrivilliputtūr, a *brahmadēya*, a reduction of tax was made of one *kāṇi* per *mā*.

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262 581 of 1915, Tinnevelly.

263 330 of 1917, *A.R.E.*, 1918, part II, para 30; see also 230 of 1901, *A.R.E.*, 1924, Appendix A, c. p. 5.

264 89 of 1926.

265 554 of 1926, 556 of 1926.

Thus the point is that the remission of taxes in return for a capitalised amount was an internal arrangement made by the shareholders of a joint village—where the element of joint ownership existed, and with it the element of joint responsibility for revenue, and not necessarily a feature common to all villages in the area.

(vi) Distribution of taxes and the power to sell the lands of defaulters.

vi. The power to remit taxes on a piece of land on receipt of tax money is only one of the incidents of a wider power claimed and exercised by such communities, viz. the complete control of the distribution of the lump assessment among the share-holders, the power to sell the lands of defaulters, and in general to do all things that would be consistent with their joint responsibility for revenue. If one shareholder was in default, the government called upon the other shareholders of the village to pay the balance due by the defaulting shareholders; hence the right to sell the property was essential for the due discharge of their joint liability for revenue—often the state itself conceded this right. A permissive order from Kulōttunga I, that the holdings of the tenants as had not cleared their dues by the 47th year of the reign might be sold to any purchasers that would buy them and the money remitted to the treasury, was received by the assembly of Vānavanmādēvi-caturvēdimangalam in that year. Accordingly the lands owned by some Brahman tenants, who, being unable to pay the taxes, had resigned their lands and left the village, were sold to

the temple.[266] In another instance we are told that the Śaiva Brahmans at Ālambākkam deserted their homes in the 13th year of Rājādhirāja II and ran away. Their lands were consequently neglected and the arrears of rents accumulated. Other Śaiva Brahmans of the village met together and settled that the lands be sold.[267] Perhaps the best example of this power is the order of Rāja Rāja in 1008 A. D.:—

"(The land of) those landholders in villages of Brāhmaṇas, in villages of Śramaṇas i.e. (Jainas) in Śōṇāḍu, in the adjacent districts included in Śōṇāḍu, in Toṇḍaināḍu, and in Pāṇḍināḍu, *alias* Rājarāja vaḷanāḍu, who have not paid, on the land owned by them, the taxes due from villages, along with the (other) inhabitants of those villages, for three years, (of which) two are completed, between the 16th and the 23rd years (of my reign), shall become the property of the village and shall be liable to be sold by the inhabitants of those villages to the exclusion of the (defaulting) landholders. Also, (the land of) those who have not paid the taxes due from villages for three years, (of which) two are completed, from the 24th year (of my reign) shall be liable to be sold by the inhabitants of those villages to the exclusion of the (defaulting) landholders."[268]

A variation of this was when the joint body allowed some time to the defaulter to pay up his portion of the rent. 'All the Brahmans of Taḷirūr agrahāra,

[266] 620 of 1909, *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 24, also 647 of 1909. *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, p. 14.

[267] 731 of 1909, *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 28, 379 of 1912.

[268] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 9.

agreeing together, made a *samaya-śāsana* as follows:— Shares which have not paid the fixed rent and are ruined, from the day they have been left *ōhaḷa* will pay interest at the rate of 3 *hāga* a month for a *hon*. The *ōhaḷa* share may be redeemed up to three months on payment of the rent and interest. If not redeemed the *ōhaḷa* share may be exchanged, mortgaged, sold or given away. No debtor can claim the former rent from the date of the share being left *ōhaḷa*, as a debt.'[269]

The other powers of taxation claimed by the joint body included apparently the right to decide which lands should be taxed. A Tinnevelly inscription[270] records the settlement made by the assembly of Tirukuṟṟālam that taxes should be levied only on cultivated lands.

(vii) *Taniyūr.*

vii. Finally, it may be remarked that the distinctive nature of the villages is brought out in the significant Tamil term, '*Taniyūr*',[271] often applied to these villages. It is noticeable that the term *taniyūr* is not found applied in the inscriptions to any but such *caturvēdimangalams*. It

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[269] *Ep. Car.*, V, Arsikere, 128.

[270] 430 of 1917.

[271] 28 of 1908, 302 of 1921.
284 of 1910.
135, 474 of 1912, 543 of 1921.
167 of 1915, *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 6, para 6.
169 of 1915, *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 25, line 38.
170 of 1915, *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 70, para 17.
South Ind. Inscr., II, 95, para 57.
330 of 1917, *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 4.
333 of 1917, *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 82.
338 of 1917, *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 78.
347 of 1917, *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 84.

has been translated 'free village',[272] a village unit, by itself an independent village.[273] Free and independent are vague terms which do not indicate the real character of the village. It seems more accurate to say that the *caturvēdimangalam* was a village which was allowed a large measure of control in managing local affairs—made necessary by the fact that the inhabitants of the village, by the terms of the original grant or establishment of the village, were bound to render certain dues and services to the land-lord body and the latter was allowed, nay required, to conduct the revenue administration in its own way—and that this land-lord body was united by some elements of joint-ownership, either whole or partial.

To sum up then, we may say that the *caturvēdimangalam* was, from the economic point of view, a community of landholders united together by the fact that they owned all or some land in common, and that they were a land-lord body placed over a body of tenants who were bound to render certain services and dues to them, and that the land-lord community had a large discretion in managing the affairs of the locality—which they did through a highly developed system of committees, subject to the village assembly.

In the present state of our evidence it is difficult to say that such a system of highly developed local government by means of committees existed in *all* villages in South India; it is permissible to assume that it existed in those villages where some element of

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[272] 330, 333, 338, 347 of 1917, 158 of 1918.

[273] *A.R.E.*, 1921, part ii, para 68, 302 of 1921.

joint tenure existed, necessitating joint partnership in deciding affairs which vitally touched all. In other villages, i.e. ryotwāri, (*veḷḷān-vagai*) and it is to be remembered that most villages belonged to this type—it is probable that there was an influential body of elders who considered and decided questions concerning all such e.g. the conduct of temple affairs, looking to works of irrigation etc. No regular constitution as we find to have existed at Uttaramallūr seems to have existed in such villages, nor was it necessary. The regular constitution in villages of the type of Uttaramallūr owed its origin to certain features which were peculiar to them. When a body of independent cultivators looked after their own lands, the common needs of the village were looked after by an informal meeting of the village elders, or the villagers generally. In this sense, it was in keeping with the rest of India, village affairs being generally looked after by a *panchāyat* or an assembly.

Indeed, if we are to view the local administration of South India in its proper perspective, we must grasp the fact firmly that the elaborate development of the committee organisation was prevalent only in a particular type of village in South India, viz., the joint village, and, as far as our evidence goes, the *Brahmadēya* type of joint village, and not, necessarily, over the whole of South India.

As Altekar[274] has shown, by a critical examination of the evidence relating to Western India, the South

[274] Altekar, *Village Communities*, pp. 20—30.

Indian system of village administration was not prevalent in that area; he rightly criticizes the tendency of scholars[275] to draw general conclusions applicable to India as a whole from data supplied by the Smṛtis of one province or the inscriptions of another.

5. Altekar's criticism.

But in one respect, the criticism made by Altekar against the South Indian village community is wide of the mark. He says, "We may confidently assert that in our western village communities, which consisted mostly of non-Brahmans and which were proverbially unorthodox, the village council must have been a cosmopolitan body. In this connection our communities present a striking contrast with the orthodox communities of the far south; for there no one could become a member of the council who did not know *Mantra* and *Brāhmaṇa*. Orthodoxy was never rampant in Western India as in the south; hence this characteristic difference."[276] He cites, as an illustration, the Uttaramallūr inscription.[277] Evidently he has not noticed that Uttaramallūr was one particular type of village, where the joint landlord body was having control over a body of tenants, and, as a *taniyūr*[278], was allowed to conduct the administration in its own village. Village councils or assemblies open to all were common enough in the South as in the Western village communities but, the committees could not be expected to be open to all in villages where the whole

[275]Ibid., p. 26.

[276]Altekar, *Village Communities*, pp. 23—24.

[277]Ibid., p. 23, n. 3.

[278]Supra, p. 151.

body of landholders belonged to one particular community, and where the very institution of committees was intended to help them to administer their joint affairs.

6. Distribution of joint villages.

The question of distribution of such villages may now be considered. It is clear from our evidence that the villages, where some sort of joint tenure existed, were sporadic, owing their origins to special reasons. In the grants reviewed in the foregoing discussion, we see one such reason at work; the general class of villages was that where the lands were held by cultivators individually, and alienation of land could be made by individuals on their own responsibility,[279] and it does not appear that the community had the right to dispose of the waste land of the village. Such villages appear to be denoted by the term '*veḷḷān-vagai*' villages and from the language of an inscription[280] it may be inferred that they were differentiated from the aforesaid villages in the manner of paying the taxes and were entered as another type of villages: "Ceasing to be a *brahmadēya*, it shall become *veḷḷān-vagai*, cultivator's portion, that this village not making the payment of taxes in the manner in which the villages which are *veḷḷān-vagai* pay"—etc. In the same inscription, the form of addressing the owner is noteworthy—to the *elders* of *brahmadēya*-villages[281] and the *residents* of villages.

Existence of severalty villages.

[279] *Ep. Car.*, I, 5. *Ep. Car.*, II, 237, 327, 334.

[280] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 205.

[281] *Brahmadēya kiḷavarkkum ūrkaḷilārkkum*, *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 205, Tamil text, Plate I-a, lines 2-6.

Perhaps the best proof that such villages existed is in the authority to remit taxes. We have seen that in joint villages the community of shareholders claimed a limited power to remit taxes with or without compensation, and that even when the king remitted taxes for the whole body, the order of remission was addressed to the corporate body. In severalty villages, the king or his officers themselves remitted the taxes on the lands of individuals. In 1309 A. D., "The king on the occasion of his presence at the *Nālāyiravantirumaṇḍapam*...... remitted all the taxes on these lands including *kaḍamai* and *antarāyam*".[282]

We thus come to the conclusion:—(i) that the severalty villages and joint villages existed side by side, (ii) that the joint villages were sporadic owing their origin to special reasons, one of them being evidenced in the inscriptions by grants, (iii) that joint villages had a more developed organisation and wider powers to manage local affairs and (iv) that these appear to be connected with the element of joint tenure, partial or total, found in them.

[282] 402 of 1916, Tinnevelly; other examples are:
318 of 1905, Cuddapah.
425 of 1905, N. Arcot.
511 of 1905, N. Arcot, *A.R.E.*, 1906, part ii, para 48.
381 of 1908, Tanjore.
35 of 1909, Madura.
185 of 1910.
526 and 527 of 1911.
469 of 1920, N. Arcot.
398 of 1922, Chingleput.
67 of 1924, Ramnad.
408 of 1925, Tanjore.
9 of 1926, Ramnad, 1230 A.D.

iii. *Special tenures, Beneficial and Service*

The special tenures which we find mentioned in our contemporary sources arose mainly out of the then prevalent custom of making gifts and paying wages for various public services, by assignments of land or land revenue instead of paying in money as now happens; for gifts, land was indeed specially favoured; the codifiers of the smṛtis of the period incorporated in their books as many ancient texts as they could find to extol the merits of land gifts;[283] the grants published contain many quotations from such codes. Hēmādri e.g. is a popular author; we find references to his code more than once.[284] For wages, too, land was welcomed; the abundance of land and the relative scarcity of money, coupled with the circumstance that the population was not generally very mobile, made this form of payment for services suitable to the times.

Origin of special tenures: gifts and payment of wages in land.

A tenure of some kind was created by a grant; its nature varied according to the difference in the grantor, the grantee, the benefit received, and the service expected or rendered; we shall choose, as our basis of treatment, the last, for it brings into clearer relief the economic character of such tenures.

Basis of classification.

Adopting this basis, our tenures fall into two broad classes:—beneficial and service. The former

283 See Hēmadri, *Dāna Khaṇḍa*, referred to in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 97 ff.

284 *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 64, line 17; Vanapalli, (Godavari district)—1380 A.D. *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, p. 100, verse 22, Porumāmiḷḷa, (Cuddapah), 1369 A.D

arose from grants not made with the expectation of any material services to be done by the donee, but made with the conviction that the very act of the grant itself would benefit the grantor; in the same category may be placed those made for some temporary service already done; the service was not done with the expectation of reward nor was the service recurring in its nature. The latter arose from grants made with the requirement that certain material services were to be done by the donee in return for the grant, it being understood, as a rule, that the descendant, occupying the land would continue to do the same services.

Beneficial and service.

Beneficial tenures may be conveniently divided into three kinds:—(a) held by institutions like temples, *maṭhas*, schools for religious instruction etc. (b) by individuals and collective bodies (c) by institutions and persons combined. Examples of lands held by temples occur frequently in our inscriptions, the tenures being called *tiruviḍaiyāṭṭam*,[285] *dēvadāna*,[286] *dēvāgrahāra*,[287] *dēvabhōga*,[288] or *taḷavṛtti*;[289] those held by *maṭhas* are called *maḍappuṟam*,[290] and those held by feeding houses, *śālābhōga*,[291] or *aṟaccālai*.[292] Of lands enjoyed by

Beneficial tenures of three kinds.

(a) Held by institutions.

[285] *Ind. Ant.*, XXIV, pp. 257—58.

[286] 261 of 1926.

[287] *A.R.E.*, 1926, Appendix A, copper-plate 2.

[288] 538 of 1925, *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 12.

[289] *Ep. Car.*, VII, Shikārpur, 123.

[290] 213 of 1924, *Ep. Car.*, IX, *Bangalore*, 6 a.

[291] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5,—The Epigraphist has translated it by the term 'land enjoyed by the royal palace; it seems more correct to say that they were lands enjoyed by the *śāla*,—feeding house. See also *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 151, line 26.

[292] 159 of 1925, *A.R.E.*, 1925, part ii, para 18.

schools for religious instruction we have the famous example from Eṇṇāiyiram.[293] So too by hospitals.[294]

It may be remarked that lands held by institutions were sometimes held free of taxes from the state and sometimes from the joint village community. The latter were called *ūr-kīḻ-iṟaiyili.*[295] Evidence to the same effect comes from Travancore where such lands were called *ūrāṇmai*[296]—subject to the village community as contrasted with *kārāṇmai*, freehold, directly under the state.

(b) By individuals and collective bodies.

Beneficial grants to individuals were either to one individual or to a community of individuals. A plot of land granted to a single Brāhmaṇa for his sole enjoyment and having on it his house and the houses of his dependants and farmers was called an *ēkabhōgam;*[297] when it was given to a community of Brahmans it was called by the terms *agrahāra,*[298] or *gaṇabhōgya.*[299] In such cases, the land was divided into

[293] 333 of 1917 [(1044 A.D.);] *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, paras 27—31.

[294] 248 and 249 of 1923—*Atulaśālai.*

[295] 88 of 1926.

[296] *Ind. Ant.*, XXIV, pp. 284—285.

[297] *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 271; *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, 22; *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 228. *Ekabhōgya* and *Ekabhōgya grāma J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 347, line 41.

[298] Ellis, *Replies* Deed, p. XXV, *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 67.

Ellis points out that the word *Agrahāra* has a variety of meanings, being sometimes applied to villages held rent-free by Brahmans, to villages paying the full rent the *Mirāsi* of which is held wholly or partly by Brahmans, to streets inhabited by them in large towns, and to almshouses erected for their use and which they are allowed to occupy without paying rent. The word, however, when applied to the tenure of land includes all alienations from the public revenue being derived from *agra—before*, and *harati, it is taken*, meaning land of which the revenue is appropriated *before* it reaches the treasury—Ellis, *Replies*, p. XXV, n. 8.

[299] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 357.

shares, each member being given one share—which included dry and wet land,[300] good and middling and bad land.[301]

Variations in *Ekabhōga.*

A variation in the *ēkabhōga* tenure is noticeable in our evidence; it often happened, that the individual to whom a plot of land was granted reserved for himself a portion of such land, and bestowed the remainder on others. Such was the case in Hoḷakere, where Timma Bhaṭṭa, divided the granted land into 32 portions, reserved 16 for himself and bestowed the remainder on others.[302] In all such cases, however, it is not clear whether the sub-donees were allowed full rights over the land or the rights of ownership were in part reserved by the second donor.[303] Beneficial grants were

(c) Mixed: by institutions and individuals combined.

sometimes made to institutions and individuals together—mixed grants; under this class comes the *tri-bhōga*,[304] or *tribhōg-ābhyantara siddhi*[305]—a tenure enjoyed by a private person, a god or gods, and Brahmans. The Dambal grant[306] says how Harihara divided the

[300] 462 of 1921.

[301] *Ep. Car.*, III, Seringapatam 64.

[302] *Ep. Car.*, XI, Hoḷakere 94, 1511 A.D.

[303] *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, 22, p. 313: an instance where one Rāmachandra Dikshita divided part of the land among the Brahmans of the sect to which he belonged. "It is not clear", say the editors of the grant, "whether, as in the original grant, Rāmachandra Dikshita gave to the Brahmans along with the land allotted among them, rights over it also. Perhaps the rights over the property were reserved by the donor, the donees being allowed only the enjoyment of the fruits accruing from the land."

[304] *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 271, 1054 A.D.

[305] See *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XII, pp. 377—78, *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 271.

[306] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 377.

district of Gadag consisting of 66 villages into 3 equal portions, each of 22 villages, of which he retained one as the king's share, allotted the second for the rites of two gods at Gadag and gave the third as an *agrahāra* grant to a number of Brahmans. The principle of distinction here obviously is the proportion of benefit enjoyed: *sarvābhyantara siddhi*[307] plainly denotes a grant with full and complete rights of enjoyment made only to one class of grantees; *ēkabhōga, ēkabhōgya* and *ēkabhōga-grāma* denote grants made to individuals; and *gaṇabhōgya*[308] indicates a joint tenure by a number of Brahmans.

Benefit enjoyed.

The benefit enjoyed under the beneficial tenures varied. As we pointed out[309] it might be ownership of land or only an assignment of revenue due from the land. The former again could be either complete or partial. Complete ownership meant all the eight-fold rights of possession.[310] This included *nidhi, nikṣēpa, jala, pāṣāṇa, akṣiṇi, āgāmi, siddha, sādhya,* which may be translated deposits of buried treasure, water, stones, the *akṣiṇi* that which may accrue, that which has been made property(?) that which may be made property(?) and augmentation.[311]

307 *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, p. 83, line 20.

308 *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 357, l. 120.

309 Supra, p. 27.

310 *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XII, p. 347, lines 37 ff. *Aṣṭabhōgatējah svāmya, Ind. Ant.*, XIX, p. 244.

311 See also *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 22, lines 60 ff.

Partial ownership meant the lands were granted only for cultivation, the usual eight-fold right of enjoyment not being given.[312]

Complete enjoyment of land did not, however, in all cases mean exemption from land revenues. Lands granted could be free from land revenue, if they were specifically exempted from such payment. Such were e.g. the *sarvamānya* or *sarvanamasya* tenures;[313] in *ardhamānya*[314] or *kaṭṭuguttage*[315] the lands were subject to a fixed rent payable to the state.

Conditions in beneficial tenures.

The beneficial grants were also burdened with certain conditions—for, while it is true that the grantor did not expect any material services in return, it was to his interest to see that the grant was not abused or diverted from the original purposes for which the grant was made. Thus regarding lands granted to institutions like temples, such conditions as the following were imposed :—for having thus obtained (the land), the following conditions (*vyavasthai*) are imposed:—The lands of the village shall be irrigated by canals dug (proportionately) as per water assigned (from those canals); others (who are not tenants of the *dēvadāna* lands) shall not be permitted to cut branches from these canals, dam (the passage of water across), put up small

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[312] *Ep. Car.*, V, Arsikere, 123, *jala-pāṣāṇa-varjjita beḷe-bhūmiyāgi*, p. 383 (text).

[313] *A.R.E.*, 1926, Appendix A, Copper-plate 6, *Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 188.

[314] *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 59—*ārdhika* or *ardhasīrin;* see also Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, i, 166.

[315] Nelson, *The Madura Country*, part iv, p. 135, 409 of 1913, *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 30.

piccottas, or bale (out) water in baskets. The water (thus) assigned shall not be wasted. Such water shall be (appropriately used for irrigation) regulated. Channels and springs, passing across the lands of other villages to irrigate the lands of this village, shall be permitted to flow over and cast up silt. Channels and springs, passing across the lands of this village to irrigate the lands of outside villages, shall (also be permitted) to flow over and cast up (silt); mansions and large edifices shall be built of burnt tiles; reservoirs and wells shall be dug; cocoanut trees shall be planted in groves; *maruvu, damanagam, iruvēli, śeṇbagam,* red lilies, and mango, jack, cocoanut, areca and such other useful trees of various descriptions, shall be put in and planted; large oil presses shall be set up. The *Īḻavas* (toddy-drawers) shall not be permitted to climb the cocoanut and palmyra (trees) within the surrounding boundaries of this village; the embankments of the tanks of this village shall be permitted to be raised within their own limits to any suitable height, so as to hold the utmost quantity of water that may be let into those tanks.[316]

A plot of land was given to a *maṭha* with the stipulation that the head of the *maṭha,* the trustee of the property, 'shall certainly always avoid women'.[317]

Where lands were given on beneficial tenures to individuals, they were expected to be of good behaviour too. Thus an inscription of 1262[318] says, "I, Kāma

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[316] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 205.

[317] *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 197.

[318] *Ep. Car.*, IX, Bangalore 114 and 115.

Dēvar, will exact a fine from and expel from his *vṛtti* any man who either leaves Śivapuram for good or slanders another, or commits adultery."

In mixed tenures, the conditions or stipulations were meant to regulate the relations between the parties concerned. Thus in a grant to a temple and a number of Brahmans, it was said that the annual repairs and other expenses arising from the act of God or of government should be borne in the same proportion of two-thirds by the God and one-third by the Brahmans, that the water of the channel should be distributed in those same proportions and that the expense of wells and tanks formed under the channel or expense connected with the river should be borne in the same way.[319]

Beneficial tenures as compensation for wrongs done or in appreciation of some deed.

The variety of beneficial tenures is increased by those where a plot of land was given as compensation for some wrong done to an individual or in appreciation of some noble deed. Thus in a quarrel, a certain person was punished by mistake and for the wrong punishment meted out to him, his son was given land as *udirappaṭṭi*[320] i.e. bloodshed compensation. As examples of the latter we may cite the instances[321] where land was given to the descendants of heroes who gave up their life in defending their village or their country, expressed in such terms as *neśara-koḍagi*, *nettaru-paḍi mānyam*, or *ratta-kuḍangai*.

[319] *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dāvaṇagere 23—1410 A.D.

[320] 635 of 1916, *A.R.E.*, 1917, part ii, para 18.

[321] *A.R.E.*, 1917, part ii, para 18.
A.R.M., 1924, p. 91.
Ep. Car., IX, Hoskōṭe 103.

Service tenures fall under two broad categories: lands given for services to the village and for services done in the temple. These are dealt with elsewhere;[321a] here we may merely indicate certain useful distinctions in the nature of the services rendered and the conditions attaching to such tenures.[322]

Service tenures of two main kinds.

One distinction noticeable in the service tenures of the village is the assignment of lands for specific and occasional services as distinct from continuous and permanent services. Under the former category we may notice the assignment of lands for such services as constructing a canal or a well or repairing a tank;[323] of the latter kind were the lands held by the village servants such as the goldsmith, potter, barber, astrologer, *talāri,* carpenter, physician, headman etc. It must not be presumed, however, that the number, the duties of village servants, and the lands held by them were uniform throughout the land; as will be seen later,[324] they varied according to the number of inhabitants and the nature of the needs of the locality.

Some useful distinctions: occasional and permanent.

Another distinction in the service tenures of the village is between those lands held for services of a sectional character, as contrasted with those applicable to the whole village. Thus the services of the Brahman teachers—of expounding grammar, *Mīmāmsā, Vēdānta,*

Sectional and whole.

[321a]See chapter II, sections 5 and 6.

[322]See infra—sections on Village Servants, Land Values, and the Temple: Its Economic Aspect.

[323] *Śrimānyam,* 327 of 1920, 373 of 1920, *Kaṭṭugoḍage* grant 82 of 1917.

[324]Infra, ch. II, (5).

Ṛgvēda, Yajurvēda, Sāmavēda, Rūpāvatāra, and the *Purāṇas* were obviously of a sectional character since only a particular section of the village community was benefited by such services, whereas the service of a barber was meant for all the members of the village.

Conditions.

The conditions which were attached to these tenures are noteworthy. In regard to lands held by village servants, we are told[325] that they should take up such services in the village only: "Those who engage themselves in these services beyond the village will be considered to have transgressed the law, to have committed a fault against the great assembly and to have ruined the village." A similar instance comes from Tumkur :—Some lands and a house were given for *jyōtiṣa* in a village. They had to be enjoyed by *living in the town* and doing duty. They were not to be mortgaged. If they were sold or given away as grants these were to be given only to a fit Brahman who could discharge the services.[326] The *talāris* were held responsible for the small thefts or pilferings in private fields within the villages[326a]—and hence they received additional incomes for the risk. Even in cases of specific services, such as constructing a canal, it appears that the donee was expected, as a condition of the grant, to keep the tank in good repair.[327]

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325 43rd year of Kulōttunga-Cōḷadēva, 205 of 1919.

326 *Ep. Car.*, XII, Chiknāyakanhaḷḷi 2.

326a *A.R.E.*, 1913, part i, para 11.

327 788 of 1917.

Service in temples also took several forms. The distinction we may remember in this connexion also is between *occasional* and *continuous.*

Service tenures in temples.

Occasional services are such as conducting some festival or doing some repair.[328] Continuous services are illustrated by the one of looking after the accounts of the temple,[320] reciting the *Tiruppadiyam,* dancing, singing etc.[330] Some services were periodic, e.g. the supply of commodities.[331]

Before we conclude this section, we may touch upon a few miscellaneous tenures which do not fall under any of the above-mentioned categories.

Miscellaneous tenures.

Some of these were of a military character. In a copper plate of 1430[332] from Bellary we are told that certain lands were granted to Burri Nāyaka who helped the king in reducing the refractory village of Jājinakallu. We read, again, of an agreement[333] given by (name lost)........to levy taxes at certain fixed rates on the lands held by him as *paḍai paṟṟu* (military tenure). Closely akin to these is the *sarvamānya* grant of land for keeping watch over the villages "in the troublous times following Kōnērirājan's flight".[334] Lands or villages granted on condition of military service meet us more frequently in the

[328] 555 and 591 of 1917.

[329] 100 of 1906.

[330] 280 of 1917—See the section on The Temple: Its Economic Aspect.

[331] See for the different kinds of Service, *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 142-150; *Vide* also the section on The Temple: Its Economic Aspect.

[332] *A.R.E.*, 1923, Appendix A, copper-plate 12.

[333] 194 of 1926—1227 A.D., *A.R.E.*, 1926, part ii, para 30.

[334] 196 of 1926.

time of the Vijayanagar kings and are represented by the term *nāyankara.* From the beginning of the 16th century, they become more common.[335]

Other miscellaneous tenures are lands given for the initiation of *upadēśa,*[336] for a goldsmith having executed a wristlet set with diamonds and rubies,[337] for having killed a tiger[338] and for the maintenance of a physician who removed snake poison.[339]

iv. *Leases*

Introductory.

In the first two sections under 'Land Tenures' we have discussed the question of private property in land, and joint tenures. In the first, our point of view was whether a public authority or private agency had the *right* to land; in the latter, it was whether a *joint body* or the *individual* had such right. In both our main interest was juridical: it touched on the question of right ownership. We now come to another aspect of tenures: who was immediately concerned with *making use of* land, i.e. cultivation. Here we may note, broadly, three systems:—

(i) Where the owner himself cultivated the land with the help of his family.

(ii) Where the owner looked after the land with the help of day labourers and farm servants.

(iii) Where the owner let the land to tenants on lease.

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335 99 and 104 of 1913, 359 and 623 of 1915.
336 681 of 1917.
337 791 of 1917.
338 *Pulimānya,* 442 of 1920.
339 *Viṣaharabhōga, South Ind. Inscr.,* III, 177.

In between these there must have existed varieties; but our evidence does not carry us farther.

The first two do not involve discussion; they have been familiar to the rural land owner for ages, but it may be pointed out that the system where the owner himself cultivated the land with the help of his family must have been specially prevalent where the owner had only a small area of land and he belonged to the cultivating caste—such were the village servants who, in addition to discharging their duties in the village, looked to the cultivation of their lands.

That the second was also prevalent in the middle age is evidenced by the *Mitākṣarā*. Vijñānēśvara says[340] that when the landlord looked after the cultivation with the help of farm servants, "the servants also must preserve to the best of their ability the implements of husbandry, such as the hide and the rope of the plough and like others; otherwise there would not be any ploughing"; so too, Mādhava, in commenting on Parāśara,[341] says that the master gives him the required capital, and he should safeguard the things like plough, bullock etc; and further the *kṛṣībala* who is paid both his food and dress will get 1|5 of the grain produced in the field he cultivates; he who does not receive it will get 1|3; the *Mitākṣarā* would add where, however, the master, an agriculturist, who, even without clearly settling the wages, causes work to be done by a hired servant, whatever (profits) may be obtained from that work i.e. from agriculture, the tenth portion of

[340] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, II, 193.

[341] Mādhavācārya, *Parāśara-Mādhava*, III, p. 231.

that should be caused to be paid to the hired servant by the king.[342]

The third is 'leases'. A discussion of leases should elucidate two points:—(i) Who were the land-lords? (ii) What were the conditions under which leases were held?

Two main problems.

Our evidence does not permit us to go into the details, but sufficient data exist for attempting a preliminary study.

1. Who were the landlords?

Leasing out the land was specially common in the case of land-owners who belonged to the non-agricultural classes or institutions which had necessarily to depend on tenants. Farming does not appear to have been allowed to the Brahman community by the old smṛtis, but in the fourteenth century, Mādhavācārya, commenting on Parāśara,[343] appears to allow it to them. It is noticeable, however, that all Brahmans had not taken to farming their own lands, and such of those who had not taken to it largely employed tenants. Lands which had come into the hands of the state, either by purchase or forfeiture, and kept in reserve for the building sites and compounds of palaces and public buildings were held by tenants on contract or lease.[344]

[342] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 194.
[343] Mādhavācārya, *Parāśara-Mādhava*, I, pp. 426—27. cf. II, pp. 158—59.
[344] *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, p. 326.

ii. Conditions of lease.

Under conditions of lease we may discuss the term of leases, the stipulation regarding the cultivation of crops and proper care of land, the share to be paid by the tenant to the landlord and the rights of alienation of land.

(a) Term.

Regarding term, if a family took a lease, there was no reason to eject them from the lease, until they were found unsatisfactory. So the family might continue to be the tenants of that land from generation to generation and be systematically paying to the landlord his dues.[345]

(b) Stipulation regarding the cultivation of crops.

Usually the tenants could raise whatever crops they liked; but apparently conversion of wet land into dry or garden land required the permission of the land-lord. In Tarīkere, the tenants asked the temple authorities permission to convert the wet lands into areca-nut gardens; the permission was given, but opportunity was taken by them to increase the rent.[346]

(c) Stipulation regarding the proper care of land.

It was to the interest of the landlord to see that the land was kept under proper cultivation. The stipulation that tenants shall take due care of the estate appears in an inscription of 1010 A. D.[347] Elsewhere the condition was more specific. Lands were not to be kept without cultivation, mounds and low grounds were to be levelled, and the jungle was to be removed.[348] So too under the terms of the *kāṇippiḍipāḍu* lease,[349] the tenants could enjoy the

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[345] *Trav. Arch. Series*, II, p. 72.

[346] *Ep. Car.*, VI, Tarīkere 43.

[347] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 76.

[348] 62 and 66 of 1916; *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 28.

[349] 66 of 1916, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 28.

land only after repairing the tanks in disuse and bringing under cultivation such of the lands as were covered with jungle, and it was also stipulated that the lands were not to be kept without being cultivated and mounds and low grounds should be levelled and the jungle removed. In other leases, the tenants were obliged to set aside some sum e.g. 3 *honnu* a year for 1000 *kamba* of dry land for the upkeep of the pond.[350]

(d) Share of produce: the share, and the fixed rent system.

Regarding the payment of a share of produce to the landlord, there were two main systems i. a *share* in kind, ii. a fixed rent. The former was termed the *vāram* system,[351] the latter *kattukkuttagai.*[352] It also appears from the inscriptions that the former was generally prevalent in wet lands, the latter in dry; there were also exceptions.[353]

The share system; variation—i. in wet and dry lands.

The share of produce claimed by the landlord from lands varied according to the kind of land, (wet or dry), the crop raised, and the period of time for which the land was under cultivation. In wet lands it ranged 2|3 to 1|4.[354] For dry lands, the share was less, the

[350] *Ep. Car.*, III, Tirumakūḍal-Narsīpūr 27.

[351] 197 of 1910, Kolagattūr, Salem district; date uncertain. Hemingway, Trichinopoly, p. 151.

[352] 409 of 1913, *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 30. Āragaḷūr, Salem district, 1513 A.D.

[353] 64 of 1916, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 33.

[354] Some instances from the Tamil and the Kanarese country may be cited:—

2|3—Ukkal, Arcot taluk, 4th year of Rājēndrašōḷadēva, *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 10.

1|2—*śari vāram*, 197 of 1910, 237 of 1921 and *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 711.

2|5—1050 A.D., Nelamangala, Bangalore, *Ep. Car.*, IX, Nelamangala 25.

1|3—13th Century, Travancore, *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, p. 18, and 188 of 1910.

1|4—13th Century, Travancore, *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, p. 19 and 67 of 1916.

range of variation, in the Pāṇḍya country in the 13th and 14th centuries, being from 1|4[355] to 1|7.[356]

The difference according to the kind of crop raised may be seen from the following instance: They agreed to pay[357] on areca, cocoanut, mango, and other trees ⅘ of the yield, whereas elsewhere, for the *paśān* the *mēlvāram* was ⅓, for *tinai, varagu*, etc. ¼ and for sugarcane ⅛.[358] A detailed example of such a differentiation according to crop comes from Ramnad district about the 13th century and is given in the case of the lease called *Kāṇippiḍipāḍu.* For the *paśān* a *mēlvāram* of ⅓, for the cultivation of *tinai, varagu, mañjaḷ, iñji, śengaḻunir, vāḻai, vaḻutalai, pūśani*, etc. as well as the trees *mā, palā, nārttai, elumiccai, kuḷaviruḷi, nelli, iluppai*, etc. one in five shall be given, for cocoanut and areca-palms one in seven, and for dry crops, according to the yield, one in seven.[359]

ii. According to crop.

The share of the land-lord also varied in the case of the old and new lands. In the latter, a slightly reduced rent was charged for the first few years in order to encourage reclamation. Thus "on lands which had been brought under cultivation by clearing, he shall have to pay 1|10 in the first year, 1|8 in the 3rd year,

iii. In old and new lands.

355 *Ep. Car.*, IX, Nelamangala 25, 1050 A.D.

356 64 and 66 of 1916, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, paras 28 and 33. Ramnad District, 14th and 13th century A.D.

357 655 of 1919, *A.R.E.*, 1920, part ii, para 48.

358 62 and 66 of 1916, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 28.

359 66 of 1916, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 28.

1|7 in the 4th year, and for all subsequent years a permanent *mēlvāram* of one in three shall be paid."[360]

The fixed-rent system applied to wet as well as dry lands; the rent might be fixed in kind or cash or in both. And it might be fixed per unit of land, or per *plough*, meaning thereby the area of land that could be cultivated in one day by one plough and a pair of bullocks. Thus 166 2|3 *kalam*, per *vēli* was fixed in South Arcot in 1048 A.D. and 48 *kalam* per *vēli* in Chingleput in 1072 A. D.,[361] 3 *kalam* of paddy per *mā*[362] and 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *padakku* per *mā* in *Pudukkōṭṭai*;[363] an instance where the fixed rent was in money comes from Mysore: a certain Perumāḷe-Dēva-daṇṇāyaka in 1271 gave certain lands to a temple and regulated that the 12 ryots, who cultivated those lands, had in the first 3 years to pay annually 37 *gadyāṇa* and 2 *paṇa* while from the fourth year, they had to pay 54 *gadyāṇa*.[364] One instance where the rent was fixed both in kind and cash comes from the Tanjore district of the Madras Presidency.[365]

Fixed rent in kind.

In cash.

Kind and cash.

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[360] Ibid.

[361] *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 18. 131 of 1912, *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 33.

[362] 337 of 1923.

[363] 1220 A.D., *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 254.

[364] *Ep. Car.*, IV, *Nāgamangala*, 39 and 49, 1271 A.D.

[365] 509 of 1920. 1317 A.D.; *A.R.E.*, 1921, part ii, para 38.

Variation according to crops.

The variation according to crops is illustrated by the following instance from Pudukkōṭṭai:—2 *kalam* of paddy for the winter crops cultivated in every *mā* of land, one half of this rate for the *kuṟuvai* crops got in the months of *Āḍi* and *Aṟpaśi* and one-fourth of this rate for *tinai, varagu,* and sesamum.[366]

According to lands.

Variation in amount fixed is also observable in the case of new lands just taken up for cultivation. The lease called *uḻavukāṇi* is typical.[367] It consisted of a permanent lease of an uncultivated waste which the lessee was authorized to reclaim and to settle, to grow crops that suited him, wet or dry including plantain, sugar-cane, turmeric, ginger, areca, and cocoanut and to pay the taxes in gold and grain. In one instance, a lessee, holding lands under this tenure had to pay 10 *paṇam* and 10 *kalam* of paddy in the first year, but in the 5th year 50 *paṇam* and 50 *kalam* of paddy, i.e. 5 times. The same principle of a lease with an annually progressing rate is seen also in two inscriptions from the Tinnevelly district.[368]

Incidental charges.

A consideration of the landlord's share will not be complete unless we take into account the question who was to bear the incidental charges connected with the conveyance of crops etc. Available evidence points to the fact that in the case of temples, and landlords in general, the produce had to be conveyed to the landlord by the

366 *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 257.

367 353 of 1912, *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 56.

368 432 and 437 of 1917, *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 48.

tenants. Persons who held temple lands on lease were bound by agreement to bring to the courtyard of the temple the stipulated quantity of paddy or rice free from dust, chaff and unripe grains and give them in heaped measures. It is expressly stated in the documents that they had to bear the incidental charges such as the wages of those who had to carry them to the temple and the tolls.[369] "The charges for taking out the paddy for being measured ......shall be borne by the cultivators......incidental charges such as the wages of those who carry being borne by themselves".[370]

Additional burdens.

The temple tenants were subjected to an additional burden, in the form of 'supervision fees' i.e. fees had to be paid by the tenants to the temple servants for supervising their work in the *dēva dāna* lands during harvest time. The rates in *Pudukkōṭṭai* in the 10th year of Tribhuvana Cakravartin Śri Vīra-Pāṇḍyadēva were:

1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy for every *taḍi* of land on the day of reaping, and

1 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy on the day of threshing.

For dry crops like sesamum, horse-gram and red gram the rate was a *kuṟuṇi* (from the yield) in addition to the supplying of food every day of supervision; fees were

[369] *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, p. 34, cf. Subramania Iyer, *Historical Sketches*, p. 335. It is an interesting comparison that in mediaeval England, we are told, the lord and his retinue travelled from manor to manor frequently eating up its produce; but where the landlords were monasteries it had to be conveyed to them. Lipson, *Economic History*, p. 34.

[370] *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 19.

also settled for supervising the harvest of *tinai, varagu, payaṟu* and *kambu* crops.[371]

It was customary to give, in addition to the agreed quantity of paddy, an extra quantity to meet wastage, and failure to comply with the conditions of assignment sometimes deprived the cultivator of his cultivating right.[372]

Compensating advantages.

It is, however, only fair to add that the temple tenants had certain compensating advantages; often the temple provided houses for the tenants;[373] on occasions, it lent money to them;[374] the *kāval-kāṇiyāḷar,* men appointed for leasing out lands and realising the assessment, are said to have given the tenants, in times of scarcity, what was required for their maintenance;[375] and instances occur where, in addition, a reduction of rents was made at such times. Two instances may be noticed here :—In a severe drought at Little Conjeevaram in the Chingleput district, we are told, the trees withered; the tenants were asked to plant fresh trees and pay up *mēlvaram* at the reduced rates of 2|3; and for sesamum, green gram and sugarcane, the rates obtaining in adjacent villages were adopted; and where betel, plantain and other quick yielding crops were reared side by side in newly planted areca and

[371] *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State,* 435.
[372] *Trav. Arch. Series,* III, pp. 40 and 180.
[373] 155 of 1912, *A.R.E.,* 1913, part ii, para 22.
[374] *Ep. Car.,* V, Bēlūr 83. 50 *gadyāṇa* lent to 50 cultivators.
[375] *A.R.E.,* 1918, part ii, para 41.

cocoanut groves, the *mēlvāram* was fixed at ¾ of the old rates.[376] A more elaborate instance is supplied by an inscription from Āccāpuram. The changes effected in the quantity of rents to be paid per *vēli* are shown in the following table:—

Up to the year of the record.	From the year of the record (14th year R K V. Rajadhi-Raja II).	Reduction
80	70	
75	65	10 *kalam*
70	60	
60—45	55—35	5 "
40—30	35—25	5 "
25	21½	3½ "
20	18	2 "

It was also agreed that for lands cultivated with dry crops and for lands, which had hitherto to pay 20 *kāśu*, only 17 *kāśu* should henceforth be taken. Those that had been paying from 18 to 10 *kāśu* were to get a reduction of 2 *kāśu* and those paying from 10 to 5 *kāśu*, two *kāśu*.[377]

Penalty.

Another question in regard to the relation between the landlord and the tenant is what was the penalty in case the rent was not paid? A Tanjore inscription[378] says that the tenants were made to sell back their holdings to the temple. An inscription from Travancore shows that

[376] 655 of 1919, *A.R.E.*, 1920, part ii, para 48.
[377] *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 19, 429 and 538 of 1918.
[378] 264 of 1911.

this was resorted to only in extreme cases. In case of default, the tenants bound themselves to pay double the quantity at default; if the default occurred twice, there was to be a fine in addition, and if default occurred a third time also, the property was taken over.[379] It may be added that the *Mitākṣarā* sanctions fine and forfeiture where the tenant neglected cultivation: "He, however, who, having undertaken in the presence of the owner of the field 'I shall cultivate this field', afterwards gives it up, nor gets it cultivated by another, then, even when that field was broken by the ploughshare, i.e. was dug up a little by the plough, and therefore was not properly prepared for the production of a good crop, still, of the land so dug up, the produce i.e. such as was likely to be produced from it as determined by the neighbours etc., should be made to be paid by the cultivator; and the field also should be taken away from the former cultivator and should be got cultivated by another."[380]

One aspect in regard to the conditions of lease remains viz., the right of alienation. Evidence is clear that tenants were not allowed the right. They were forbidden to mortgage, sell, exchange or pledge the lands they cultivated.[381]

(e) Alienation.

And this condition was to be observed in spite of pressure.[382]

[379] *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, pp. 163, 217.

[380] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 158.

[381] *Ep. Car.*, IV, Mysore, Nāgamangala 39 (*ādhi, kraya pari, vartane, otte*).

[382] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 76.

(3) AGRICULTURAL PRACTICE

i. *Principal Crops.*—Scope of this section—Evidence—Nelson's statement about dry crops to be rejected—The main crops—Local distribution of crops—Fruits—Pepper and cocoanut.

ii. *Land under Cultivation; Reclamation.*—Evidence of travellers—Reclamation—Inducements offered by the state—Grant of taxes and exemption from taxation—Graduated scale of assessment—Partial exemption from taxes—Full and partial exemption—Imposition of taxes—Grant of land—Reclamation undertaken by the state—Other agencies who helped reclamation:—(a) The temple—(b) Private individuals—Element of speculation—(c) The village community—Mode of reckoning.

iii. *Irrigation.*—Importance of irrigation; contemporary writings—Inscriptions—Kinds of irrigation works—Problems of irrigation, mainly three: i. construction—ii. maintenance—iii. distribution.

i. Construction: agency—Public (Government)—Private: (a) Individuals—(b) The village community—(c) The temple—Method of construction—Testimony to skill.

ii. Maintenance—Prevention of damage—Finance: (a) Private charity—(b) The temple's contribution—(c) State help—(d) Income from the tank—Agency for maintenance—The work of maintenance.

iii. Distribution of water.

iv. *Process of cultivation.*—Kambar, our authority—The land—Names of fields—Size of fields—Hedges—Wet cultivation: rice—Kambar's evidence: (a) the implements used—(b) Processes of cultivation—Additional evidence in regard to the bulls used and the harvest—Garden cultivation: pepper—The pepper plant and its cultivation—The gathering of pepper—Season for harvest.

v. *Protection of crops.*—A preliminary point—Protection to crops—Individual watching—Damage from stray cattle—Setting

fire to a field—Mutual agreements among people—Protection of trees.

vi. *Breeding.*—Importance of livestock: in tillage, in transport and irrigation—Other uses—As gifts—Breeding bulls reared—Maintenance of pasture land—Protection to livestock—Local aspects.

vii. *Yield of land.*—Variety of conditions—Generalisation difficult to make—One valuable piece of evidence.

viii. *Agricultural labour.*—Paucity of evidence—Hired labour—Slave labour—Economic condition of slaves.

i. *Principal Crops*

Scope of this section.

In this section we propose to review in outline the chief crops that were grown in South India in the Middle Ages. Crops, to some extent, determine agricultural practice; and hence an understanding of the principal crops that were grown, their local distribution, where it is ascertainable, and the comparative value of the crops themselves is a necessary introduction to a study of the agricultural practice in the Middle Ages.

Evidence.

But we have not one comprehensive account from which we could compile our list. The evidence lies scattered through a number of inscriptions which record rates of the landlords' shares on various crops, the revenue assessment on land, tolls on goods which entered internal trade, and taken together with travellers' accounts form a fair basis to start with. It may be expected that an inscription which sets forth the taxes on various crops grown

in the country would include all that was likely to be of any importance; this cannot, however, be assumed of the inscriptions which mention tolls, for only those commodities which were likely to enter internal trade would find mention in them and hence their evidence is incomplete, though reliable. Travellers' accounts are especially valuable for the local distribution of crops, though the statements, being qualitative, do not have that value which quantitative estimates of the area under each crop are likely to have for economic analysis.

Nelson's statement about dry crops to be rejected.

The survey of a number of inscriptions and collateral evidence leaves the impression that South India then grew most of the crops now grown. The usual classification found in contemporary inscriptions is into wet, dry and garden; and sometimes the last one is split up into garden (proper) and *vānpayir*.[383]

Inscriptions of the period are so full of references to the cultivation of dry crops like *varagu, rāgi, kumbu, śāmai,* millet, black-gram, dhall, pulse, horse-gram etc., and the differential assessments on them[384] that the ingenious inference of Nelson,[385] that dry crops were practically unknown in the period should be rejected as unsound.

[383] 59 of 1914, *A.R.E.*, 1915, part ii, para 44.

[384] 62 and 66 of 1916, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 28.

[385] Nelson, *The Madura Country*, part iv, pp. 134—35.

The main crops.

The crops grown in South India seem to have comprised the following categories[386]—
cereals e.g. wheat and barley.
millets—*jowār*.
pulses—peas and gram.
oilseeds—gingelly and castor.
fibres—hemp.
dyes—indigo.
drugs—lac.
spices—pepper and ginger.
garden crops—betel.

Local distribution of crops.

The local distribution of the crops or the area of acreage under each crop is not known with any degree of clearness. Travellers invariably use 'abundant' or 'not found' with reference to particular crops, but beyond conveying a general idea of distribution they do not help us much. But from them we may gather that certain crops were fairly widespread, while others were apparently restricted to select areas, implying specialisation of a crude kind. Thus rice was a crop cultivated almost everywhere,[387] wherever conditions of soil, temperature and water supply were found suitable; and it is not surprising when it is remembered that of food grains rice gives the greatest return per acre of land sown. Many varieties were also cultivated, apparently with success. Barbosa mentions

[386] A fuller list is given in Note B at the end of the chapter, with references to authorities.

[387] Cochin and the West coast—Mahuan, *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 344, Chau Ju-Kua, *Chu-fan-chi*, p. 88.
Vijayanagar—Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 366.
Eastern districts—219 of 1921, Varthema, *Travels*, p. 195.
Telingāna—Jordanus, *Wonders*, p. 41.

girasal, asal, quavagas and *paccary*[388]. Inscriptions add[389] *kuruvai* and *pañcavāra.* Garden crops like brinjal, ginger and pepper were also widely cultivated.[390]

In contrast to such crops having a wide distribution are crops like pepper and ginger, which were, from all accounts,[391] a speciality of the west coast region. Another speciality of the same region was cinnamon.[392] Cotton was grown, in the main, in the Dekhan black soil;[393] sandalwood, if we may believe Chau Ju-Kua,[394] was a speciality of the Coromandel, especially the red variety and dyes, like indigo, of Quilon and Guzerat.[395]

To a somewhat different category belongs regional specialisation—cocoanut is a typical example. It is mentioned chiefly on the sea-coast strips.[396]

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[388]Barbosa, *An Account*, I, p. 192. The exact meaning of the first, second and third varieties mentioned by him is difficult to make out.

[389] (1) 587 of 1915, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 27.
(2) *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 151.

[390]Malabar—Chau Ju-Kua, *Chu-fan-chī*, p. 88.
Malabar—Conti, Major, *India*, p. 17.
Chaul—Varthema, *Travels*, p. 114.
Bathecala—Varthema, *Travels*, p. 120.

[391]Al Idrīsī, Elliot, *History*, I, p. 90.
Benjamin, Major, *India*, p. xlvii.
Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 375.
Odoric, Yule, *Cathay*, II, p. 129.
Marignolli, Yule, *Cathay*, III, p. 216-17.
Cf. Sulaimān, Elliot, *History*, I, pp. 5—6.

[392]Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 389.

[393]Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 386.

[394]Cau Ju-Kua, *Chu-fan-chī*, pp. 111 and 208, Stefano, Major, *India*, p. 5.

[395]Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 375.

[396]Chau Ju-Kua, *Chu-fan-chī*, pp. 96, 214.
Mahuan, *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 345.
Marignolli, Yule, *Cathay*, III, p. 236.
Al Idrīsī, Elliot, *History*, I, p. 85.

But it is difficult to carry the analysis further; other crops were grown in more than one district and the absence of mention of their cultivation in a particular locality cannot be taken as evidence for the absence of their cultivation—under this category come many of the dry crops including the millet, pulses and oil-seeds.

Fruits.

Before leaving this part of the subject, we may mention the varieties of fruit cultivated in the country as they have come down to us in contemporary accounts:—

Mango,[397] bread fruit,[398] bloqui,[399] plantain,[400] cocoanut,[401] fig,[402] citron,[403] orange,[404] lime,[405] lemon,[406] pomegranate,[407] jack,[408] cucumber,[409] date,[410] banana,[411] and fruits called by Chinese writers *yu-k'an,*[412] *t'ŏng-lo*[413] and *k'un-lun plum.*[414]

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397 Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 375, 280 of 1913.

398 Conti, Major, *India*, pp. 18—19.

399 Jordanus, *Wonders*, p. 14.

400 Mahuan, *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 347.

401 Chau Ju-Kua, *Chu-fan-chi*, p. 214.

402 Varthema, *Travels*, p. 120.

403 Paes, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 255.

404 Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., p. 375, Vasco Da Gama, *The First Voyage*, p. 115.

405 Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit. p. 375.

406 Vasco Da Gama, *The First Voyage*, p. 115.

407 Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit , p. 353.

408 Chau Ju-Kua, *Chu-fan-chi*, pp. 96 and 212.

409 Vasco Da Gama, op. cit., p. 115.

410 Chau Ju-Kua, op. cit., p. 96.

411 *Ying yai shêng lan*, Rockhill, Notes *T'oung Pao*, XVI, p. 460.

412 Chau Ju-Kua, op. cit., p. 96.

413 Ibid.

414 Ibid.

Taken as a whole, they seem to have been distributed over a wide area.[415] Grapes and jack will illustrate the point. The former is said to have been grown in Vijayanagar,[416] and Bijapur,[417] the latter in Vijayanagar,[418] South Arcot,[419] and the Cōḷa country[420] in general as well as Malabar.[421] The abundance of fruits in certain localities is noticed by travellers. Referring to grapes, oranges, limes, pomegranates and jackfruits in the Vijayanagar kingdom, Nuniz says that the markets are always overflowing with abundance of fruits, all very cheap.[422] The same held good also of Calicut.[423] Calicut was surrounded by many gardens and orchards, producing "all the herbs and fruits of this country in great abundance."[424] The large variety of fruits is a matter of remark by others;[425] one traveller[426] says, "There be many other fruit trees of divers kinds, which it would be tedious to describe in detail." Not only were they plentiful and varied, they were also obtainable throughout the

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[415] Varthema, *Travels*, p. 120.

[416] Vijayanagar—Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 375.
Paes, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 255.

[417] Bijapur—Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 353.

[418] Vijayanagar—Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., p. 375.

[419] South Arcot—280 of 1913.

[420] Cōḷa country—Chau Ju-Kua, *Chu-fan-chī*, p. 96.

[421] Malabar—Conti, Major, *India*, pp. 18 and 19.

[422] Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 375.

[423] Mahuan, *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 347.

[424] Kerr, *A General History*, II, p. 347.

[425] Vasco Da Gama, *The First Voyage*, p. 132.

[426] Jordanus, *Wonders*, p. 14.

year;[427] and according to Jordanus[428] and Varthema[429] were also of good quality.

Pepper and cocoanut.

It is noticeable that pepper and cocoanut have gone down in the scale of comparative values. The demand for pepper has gone down. The explanation may be ventured that pepper has gone down in demand for two reasons, probably equally important in their effects—the use of substitutes and changes in habit. It is interesting to observe that the former applies to the home market and the foreign in two different ways. In the west pepper was in demand largely for the preservation of meat; cold storage has taken its place and diminished the demand for pepper; at home in South India, chillie has come in as a substitute, and proved an attractive substitute. The changes in habit refer to the remarkable change in the habits of the Chinese people. The quantity of pepper used by the Chinese in Marco Polo's time is put by him thus: for one shipload of pepper carried to Alexandria for the consumption of Christendom, a hundred went to Zayton in Manzi;[430] but now according to Mr. Williams[431] the Chinese use little spice. Pepper is in use chiefly as a febrifuge in the shape of *pepper-tea* and that even less than it was some years ago.[432]

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427 Varthema, *Travels*, p. 122. Vasco Da Gama, *The First Voyage*, p. 115.

428 Jordanus, *Wonders*, p. 41.

429 Varthema, *Travels*, p. 120.

430 Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 235.

431 Quoted by Yule in Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 210.

432 Ibid.

ii. *Land under cultivation; Reclamation*

Evidence of travellers.

The extent of land under cultivation in the middle ages is a topic on which, obviously, statistics are hard to get. We may infer from contemporary accounts that travellers were generally impressed with the vastness of the area of land under tillage. Towards the end of the tenth century, Ibn Haukal says [433] of North Konkan that 'the villages lie close to one another and there is *much land* under cultivation'. In 1333, Ibn Batuta remarks that Ma'bar, meaning by the term the east coast districts of South India,[434] is 'among the most fertile regions of India'; again, 'in all this space of two months' journey (from Sindābur to Kulam), there is not a span free from cultivation'.[435] In 1470, Nikitin notes[436] that the land was laid out in fields and the ground well tilled. Round Dabhol and Goa, Barbosa says, the country was well tilled, rich and fertile;[437] later, he extends this description in a general way to the whole of the Dekhan: 'the country is exceedingly fertile, yielding much food'.[438] Paes says of the kingdom of Vijayanagar two years later, "these dominions are very well cultivated and very fertile".[439]

These statements, however, should not lead to the conclusion that all available land was under cultivation

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[433] Ibn Haukal, Elliot, *History*, I, p. 39; italics are mine.

[434] Ibn Batuta, Elliot, *History*, III, p. 604.

[435] Ibn Batuta (Lee), pp. 166—67.

[436] Nikitin, Major, *India*, pp. 10 and 20.

[437] Barbosa, *An Account*, I, pp. 166 and 175.

[438] Barbosa, *An Account*, I, p. 178.

[439] Paes, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 237.

or that land once brought under tillage was always cultivated. The *Tao i chih lio,* a Chinese work of the 14th century (1339) complains that the people (of Kainkolam, in Travancore) 'are indolent' in tillage; 'they count yearly (to eke out their subsistence) on the contribution made them by the Wu-tieh (Orissa) rice trade,[440] and this is supported by the *Hsing ch'a shēng lan,* a century later (1436), "The soil is barren, the crops poor; they depend yearly for food on the rice brought from Pēng-ko-la (Bengal)".[441] The same work complains that the natives of Quilon were lazy about cultivation and counted every year on the rice from Wu-tieh (Orissa) for their food,[442] though its black loam was naturally suitable for raising grain. Epigraphical evidence also contains instances where lands were lying fallow for years;[443] elsewhere, 'the soil was poor and far from good for tilling';[444] this is remarked of Hili, Mangalore, and Pantali. Again land lying in a distant corner of the village was in some cases deserted, as few came forward to cultivate it.[445]

Land, however, was being reclaimed. Reclamation must, from the economic point of view, be considered as supplying the means for the community to cope with the pressure

Reclamation.

[440] *Tao i chih lio,* Rockhill, *Notes, T'oung Pao,* XVI, p. 446.
[441] *Hsing ch'a shēng lan,* Rockhill, *Notes, T'oung Pao,* XVI, p. 448.
[442] *Hsing ch'a shēng lan,* Rockhill, *Notes, T'oung Pao,* XVI, pp. 448-9.
[443] 589 of 1908.
[444] *Tao i chih lio,* Rockhill, *Notes, T'oung Pao,* XVI, pp. 453, 462, 463.
[445] 253 and 254 of 1910, *A.R.E.,* 1911, part ii, para 28, 100 of 1911.

of population. Land was reclaimed for tillage and the founding of villages; the work was often undertaken by the king. The clearance of waste was of advantage to the king who received the tax and to those who were allowed to occupy it—though it conflicted with the interests of the resident villagers whose rights over the waste were proportionately diminished.

In inscriptions, we come across two kinds of such reclamation. Reclamation might be of land covered with jungle and to be brought under tillage for the first time or of land once under cultivation but later deserted. This latter category is closely connected with the problem of internal migration to which we have once referred.[446] The difficulty of meeting the demand on land sometimes led ryots to abandon their land and seek a temporary home elsewhere,[447] and such lands had to be rehabilitated.[448] In other cases party quarrels led to land lying waste for years.[449]

Again on the coast lands, as a result of the inundations of the sea, lands got submerged and silted up with sand, and had to be reclaimed at much cost. In the years 1148 and 1203, such lands in the Shiyali taluk of the Tanjore district were reclaimed at a cost of 500 *kāśu* per *mā,* while the cost of purchase per *mā* of the land had been less than 400 *kāśu.*[450]

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[446] Supra, p. 44.

[447] 276 of 1912, *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 68.

[448] 36 of 1913, *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 68.

[449] Land unclaimed for a period of 50 years is noted in an inscription dated 1168 A.D., 224 of 1917, 438 of 1916.

[450] *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 7; 504 and 505 of 1918. For a river inundation see 422 of 1912.

Inducements offered by the state.

The differentiation in the nature of land to be reclaimed becomes important, when we consider the concessions necessary to bring such lands under cultivation, the labour and capital required in reclaiming jungle lands being generally greater than in land once cultivated but later deserted. When jungle lands had to be brought under tillage, the jungle had to be cleared, stumps had to be removed, tanks had to be dug, boundary lines had to be provided, and water channels had to be dug;[451] and the reward was in proportion to the difficulty. The inducements offered by the state differed from region to region.

Grant of taxes and exemption from taxation.

Broadly speaking, they consisted in permitting the person concerned to collect the taxes of the reclaimed area,[452] or if the person retained the land for himself, to exempt him wholly or partially from taxes for a certain period. An inscription from Bangalore dated 1379 A.D. records that a reclaimed land was exempted from taxes for a period of two years. A generous king like Krishna Rāya exempted such lands even for 9 years.[453] Coupled with this concession, sometimes, was a grant of land. In 1186 we are told Sarvādhikāri Vīrayya-daṇḍnāyaka built Vīra-baḷḷāḷapura after cutting down the forest and constructed four tanks. To those who helped him in clearing the forest lands he

[451] 224 of 1905, 545 of 1922, *A.R.E.*, 1923, part ii, para 48, *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 75.

[452] *Ep. Car.*, IV, Guṇḍlupēt, 39.

[453] Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 365.

granted lands free of all taxes for 12 years and afterwards 10 *salage* of rice-land rent-free.[454]

Graduated scale of assessment.

More often, a graduated scale of assessment was adopted to encourage the ryots to get land under cultivation. In one instance belonging to the tenth century, the maximum was to be levied in the third year after reclamation.[455] In a later instance it was reached in the fourth year.[456] The difference was probably due to the varying costs of reclamation. A clear and comprehensive instance of such a system is given in an inscription dated 1402 A. D.:—

During

i. the first year of holding, half of the usual dues only would be collected both for *kār* and *paśānam* and three-fourths from the following years;

ii. of money collections, *kuḍimai* and *kāṇikkai* being declared *nīngal*, half of *paḷavari* and *puduvari* alone would be levied;

iii. the tenants, too, would be assessed at half-rates during the first year on *kaḍamai*, *araśu-pēru*, *vāśal-paṇam*, *āyam*, *pulvari*, and other such taxes, while from the following year they would be required to pay three-fourth rates except in the case of *pulvari* which remains the same;

iv. *magamai* and *kāṇikkai* would be treated likewise;

[454] *Ep. Car.*, V, Bēlūr 175, dated 1186 A.D.

[455] Infra, p. 206.

[456] *South Ind. Inscr.*, I, pp. 92—94.

and v. the same concessions would be allowed also in the case of lands belonging to temples and Brahmans. To induce others in future to undertake such reclamation, the person who was chiefly responsible in reclaiming these lands was given the special privilege of collecting *kaḍamai* from all the tenants who cultivated lands under his direction. This concession of charging half rates of assessment during the first year was extended also to other waste lands, which might similarly be brought under cultivation, year after year.[457]

Partial exemption from taxes.

Another method was exempting the person concerned from some of the taxes. Two inscriptions of the fourteenth century[458] from Ramnad district record that a piece of land was exempted from water-taxes in compensation for the labour involved in reclaiming it from its waste condition.

Full and partial exemption.

A combination of full and partial exemption is found in an inscription of 1116 A.D.:—in the first year of cultivation the land was exempted from paying *iṟaiyilikkāśu*, and for the year following, it was fixed at 5 *kāśu* per year, with no other liabilities such as *piḍāgai-vari, uppukkāśu* etc.[459]

It is interesting to record that quite the reverse method was employed, where lands were neglected wilfully, the imposition of the tax itself being calculated to

[457] *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 52.

[458] 15 and 16 of 1924, *A.R.E.*, 1924, part ii, para 38.

[459] 168 of 1923, *A.R.E.*, 1923, part ii, para 33.

induce the cultivators to keep the lands under tillage.

Imposition of taxes.

The tax called *ponvari* was imposed uniformly on all the lands in the country, without exempting, as usual, the uncultivated waste in villages.[460] It is possible that such an imposition of tax had the desired effect in some instances.

Grant of land.

Another method was the grant of part of the land reclaimed. An inscription dated 1416 from *Kōlār* states, "We grant to you the tract of land bounded as follows,—....in which you may cut down the jungle and form fields. And the rice lands under and in the area of the tank which you construct, dividing them into four parts........in consideration of your having expended much money of your own and constructed the tank, three parts we grant."[461]

Some documents of this nature are fuller in their details, directing that the annual repairs and other expenses arising from the act of God or Government shall be borne in the same proportion by the temple and the parties concerned, and that the water of the channel should be distributed in those same proportions and the expense of wells and tanks formed under the channel or expenses connected with the river should be borne in the same way.[462]

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[460] *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 39, 1212 A.D.

[461] *Ep. Car.*, X, Mulbāgal 7; for another proportion of 1:2, see *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dāvaṇagere 23.

[462] 1410, *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dāvaṇagere 23.

So far we have dealt with the encouragement given by the state to reclamation undertaken by private agency. Sometimes the state itself undertook reclamation on its own initiative through its village and district officers, chiefly in connexion with the founding of new settlements. In many instances the motive might have been the acquisition of religious merit for the sovereign; but there is no doubt that they fulfilled a real economic purpose—for, a new settlement invariably meant the increase of cultivated area by the conversion of forest tracts into fields. Some examples[463] of such foundations have already been noted in connexion with village settlement; others come from the Canarese districts. In 1096, Bhāsagavuṇḍa built the village Raṇakiyakaṭṭa (in Bēlūr), and a tank.[464] In 1183 at the request of the *mahājanas* and others Adigauda with the help of his brothers and sons cut down the forests and built a village and two tanks.[465]

Reclamation undertaken by the state.

In Bangalore in 1307, Mahāprasāyitta Ninṟān, the superintendent of the western portion of Māśandi-nāḍu, having, with the help of others, cleared the jungle, adjoining Peru-Erumūr, levelled the ground, built a village and constructed a tank made a grant of the village and all the wet and dry lands there.[466]

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[463] Ibid., 1261 A.D. *A.R.E.*, 1917, part ii, paras 33—36; 1474 A.D.—565 and 568 of 1917; 104 of 1918.

[464] *A.R.M.*, 1926, 7.

[465] Chandrasekhara Sastri, *Economic Conditions*, *H.M.U.J.*, II, p. 197.

[466] *Ep. Car.*, IX, Bangalore 133.

In the instances noticed above, the state was the promoter of reclamation directly or indirectly. Other agencies also helped the same process though in different ways. Among private agencies, the temple comes in for a prominent notice. The means employed by the managers of the temples to induce people to take to reclamation may be briefly described as 'the system of favourable leases'. An inscription from Tirukkaḷākkuḍi dated the 19th year of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya states that the temple accountants granted certain temple lands as *kāṇippiḍi-pāḍu* to one Sundara-Pāṇḍya Narasingadēvan, stipulating that he could enjoy them after repairing the tanks in disuse and bringing under cultivation such of the lands as were covered with jungle. In the lands which had been brought under cultivation by clearing jungle, he should pay one-tenth in the first year, one-ninth in the second year, one-eighth in the third year, one-seventh in the fourth year, and for all subsequent years, a permanent *mēlvāram* of one in three.[467] It is noteworthy that visits of kings to temples were availed of by the local gentry to obtain such favourable leases of land.[468]

Other agencies who helped reclamation: (a) the temple.

Under favourable leases of this nature, stipulations were generally included that the donee should not keep the lands without cultivating them and that mounds and low grounds should be levelled and the jungle removed.[469]

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467 66 of 1916; see also 62 of 1916 and *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 28.

468 368 of 1911, *A.R.E.*, 1912, part ii, paras 29 and 30.

469 66 of 1916.

Another concession consisted in granting certain miscellaneous privileges connected with the temple which were highly valued for the honour they conferred on a person. A village had been lying waste for a long time, and new tenants were unwilling to bring it back to cultivation. A certain Śakkadēvar Vēṭṭuvakkāṭṭān *alias* Śāyapaḍaitāṅgi and his brother got tenants for the village and resettled it. They were given the right of *pāḍikāval* over the particular village surrounding the temple, receiving the customary donations and fees, after allowing common rights and cultivating and paying the usual dues to the temple such as *kaṭṭumukkai, mīśam, āśupōdu, makkalpēṟu* etc. They were also allowed the honour or receiving the sacred cloth (*parivaṭṭam*), *tīrtha* and the sacred ashes from the temple.[470]

A promise of protection and fair treatment was sometimes sufficient to induce the tenants to take up under tillage lands once deserted by them. The tenants were given the assurance that they would suffer no troubles in future.[471]

(b) Private individuals.

Private individuals, sometimes individually, sometimes jointly, also undertook reclamation. The motive in this case was either the desire to do some charity or to make profits out of the transaction. Examples of the former are numerous in the Tamil and Canarese records. A certain land was on account of its high level unirrigable, and was therefore lying waste from time immemorial overgrown

[470] *A.R.E.*, 1916, part II, para 83.

[471] 566 of 1922.

with heath and wild shrubs; it was purchased as *uḻavukkāṇi,* its profitless level was tackled and it was made then irrigable by means of a new channel, and the income accruing from the land as thus improved was distributed between two temples in a certain ratio.[472] Other forms of endowments to temples like providing for the maintenance of lamps took the form of reclaiming lands and giving them to the temple.[473] A military officer of the Cōḷa country purchased some uncultivated waste lands of the temple, brought them under cultivation, and provided the necessary paddy for offerings to the god.[474] Another had a fancy for providing for the expenses of taking the god in procession during specified days—the *Amāvāsya*—and so he reclaimed some land.[475] In such cases the lands to be reclaimed could be purchased at nominal prices from the parties concerned—a piece of land 4¾ *vēlis* in extent was purchased from the assembly of Tiruvāmaikkai, a *brahmadēya,* for 4, 1|20, 1|80, good *kāśu.*[476]

It is refreshing to see that in some instances of this kind, provision was made against land falling back into the same condition, by ear-marking a piece of land for the annual improvement of the land which had been reclaimed.[477]

Like temples, the charity houses also received gifts of land, for, one way of attaining merit was the provision of a choultry. Two individuals of Uttiramērūr

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[472] *A.R.E.*, 1920, part ii, para 42.

[473] 32 of 1906—Rāja Rāja dēva, 18th year.

[474] 516 of 1912, *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 24.

[475] 276 of 1927.

[476] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 76.

[477] 32 of 1916.

received a sum of money for feeding ten persons in a *maṭha*. They bought 30 *pāḍagam* of land which had been lying waste for 60 or 70 years and brought it under cultivation.[478]

Element of speculation.

Of lands reclaimed with the express object of making a profit, two examples from Ramnad may be cited: the first, dated the 5th year of Jaṭāvarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍyadēva mentions lands purchased from the assembly with the privilege of exemption from water taxes as compensation for the labour involved in reclaiming them from their waste condition. The second[479] registers the subsequent sale of the same by him for more than ten times the value he had paid evidently owing to the improvements he effected on the lands within the four years.

(c) The village community.

The village community acting together sometimes undertook reclamation; one petitioned the big assembly of Parāntaka-caturvēdimangalam for a gift of land to the temple. Accordingly a tank was dug, and the land adjacent to the tank was made fit for cultivation by clearing forests, providing boundary lines and digging water channels, and the village thus formed was named Grāmaṇinallūr alias Ninṟanārāyaṇappērēri and presented to the god by the assembly.[480] The village communities, when they did not directly undertake such

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478 168 of 1923, *A.R.E.*, 1923, part ii, para 33.

479 15 and 16 of 1924, *A.R.E.*, 1924, part ii, para 38.

480 1207 A.D., 545 of 1922, *A.R.E.*, 1923, part ii, para 48.

reclamation work, encouraged it by agreeing among themselves that there should be no obstruction to clearing the forests and cultivating the land.

A point of interest in connexion with the land under cultivation is the then adopted mode of reckoning such land. One was by means of the amount of grain that could with profit be sown on the land.[481] One result of this mode of reckoning may be noticed; while the quantity of seed that could be sown would give the measure, it must have varied with the fertility of the soil; hence the extent of land as expressed in terms of the actual linear and square measure differed from that obtained by the seed-growing standard in several instances.[482]

Mode of reckoning.

Similar to this method was the reckoning in terms of yielding capacity.[483] Another was the extent of land that could be turned with a given number of ploughs, e.g. grant of two *ēr* of lands, meaning land that could be turned with two ploughs.[484]

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[481] 1231 A.D., *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 93, granted 3, *puṭṭi* of land.

1269 A.D., 8 *drōṇa* of land, *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 109. A grant of land sowable with 15 *khaṇḍi* of paddy, *A.R E.*, 1914, Appendix A, copper-plate 9, and part ii, para 8.

1467 7 *khāri* (1 *khāri*—3 bushels) of valuable land. *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, p. 195; *Trav. Arch. Series*, I, i.

In passing it may be noted that such a method was not peculiar to South India—See *A.S.I.*, 1903-04, p. 263 for Chamba State, Punjab, and Stein, *Rājataraṅgiṇi*, p. 71.

[482] *Trav. Arch. Series*, I, i.

[483] *Trav. Arch. Series*, II, 2.

[484] *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, p. 54; also *Ep. Ind.* XIII, p. 215—one *hala* of land, *hala* means a plough share and here is used to denote a measure of land, that could be ploughed by one plough.

iii. *Irrigation*

The importance of irrigation to an agricultural country is now well recognized; that it was also recognised in the middle ages is evident from a variety of circumstances. Contemporary writings consider it an act of merit for the private individual to construct and maintain works of irrigation, and a part of the duty of the state to undertake such works. The inscriptions on tanks built by kings, quote verses from religious treatises of the period, extolling the merit of such construction: The Porumāmiḷḷa tank inscription[185] dated 1369 A.D. quotes from Hēmādri, the following:—

Importance of irrigation: contemporary writings.

(v.22) Making charities in various ways in keeping with the treatise of Hēmādri he heard that the merit attaching to the gift of water was the greatest of all.

(v.23) On the authority of the Vēdas: "Verily all this is water." And the Śruti says: "From water alone is produced Food; (and) Food is Brahman!"

(v.24) There can be no doubt (that) water alone is the seed of the world of movables and immovables. Why speak more? I shall describe the superiority of water (as follows):—

(v.25) Even that (great) Śiva is the bearer of the Gaṅgā, Viṣṇu has the ocean for his abode; Brahmā is sprung from the water-born (lotus). Hence water is superior to everything (else).

[185] *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 97 ff.

(v.26) A shed for distributing water (*prapā*), a well and a reservoir, a canal and a lotus-tank; the merit of (constructing) them is millions and millions (of times) higher in succession.

(v.27) As the water of a tank serves to nurture both movable and immovable creation on (this) earth, even the lotus-seated (Brahmā) is unable to recount the fruit of merit (attaching) to it.''[486]

Tank-digging, in other inscriptions is looked upon as one of the seven meritorious acts which a man *ought* to perform during his lifetime: (*The procreation of*) a son, the composition (*of a poem*), (*the hoarding of*) a treasure, (*the planting of*) a grove, the marriage (*of a girl to a Brāhmaṇa*), (*the consecration of*) a temple, and (*the construction of*) a tank.[487]

The Āmuktamālyada emphasizes its importance in a small state: 'when a state is small in extent then both virtue (*dharma*) and prosperity (*artha*) will increase only when tanks and irrigation channels are constructed.'[488] But perhaps the strongest proof that building tanks and other works of irrigation was looked upon as of fundamental importance is the injunction contained in the *Mitākṣarā*:—When after obtaining the permission of the owner of the field either

[486]Hēmādri, *Dānakhaṇḍa*, referred to in *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 94 ff.

[487]In the Gaṇapēśvaram inscription of Gaṇapati (*Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 88 ff.) the seven 'off-spring' are thus described:

Sampāditair yathāvat sutakṛti nidhivana vivāha suragēhaiḥ
Satatākair yaḥ saptabhir ētaih saṁtānavān bhavati

The Vanapalli plates of Anna Vēma (Śaka 1300) also allude to them as *Saptasaṁtati*, (*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 61).

[488]Sarasvati, *Political Maxims*, *J.I.H.*, IV, part iii, pp. 68-9.

by request or by payment of money, a man wishes to erect a dam for water, or sink a well, and if the owner of the field obstructs him, the owner himself is punishable. The construction of a dam to a water flow should not be stopped by the owner of the field, even though it destroys another's land, provided that it causes little injury and is productive of much benefit (to many). A well, moreover, as it occupies a small portion of land, causes little injury but is beneficial on account of the abundance of water (in it) should *never* be stopped. The use of a well, moreover, is indicative, by implication, of a small well, a water pond and the like others.[489] Here, perhaps, we have the essence of mediaeval thought concerning the great importance attached to the construction of works of irrigation.

Inscriptions.

That the importance was realised and shown in action is clear from a two-fold evidence. Inscriptions mention a very large number of instances of foundation and repair of such works. Other indications of the same kind are that when land was sold or purchased or gifted away, the right to take water from a tank was specifically mentioned as being one of the rights incidental to the purchase;[490] in other instances, the government is said to have retained the water cess even while many other taxes were remitted.[491] Secondly the numerous remains of old irrigation works bear testimony to the care with which such facilities were attended to. The system of

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[489] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 156. Italics mine.

[490] 391 of 1911.

[491] 403 of 1923.

tanks at Kaṭṭagēri, (referred to in inscriptions of 1096-7 A.D.),[492] of which the remains have been discovered, discloses the existence of tanks at different levels, one on a higher level than the other. "The remains of immense irrigation tanks and channels", says Gribble[493] regarding Vijayanagar, "show that the rulers of the country devoted great attention to the improvement of agriculture". *The Trichinopoly Gazetteer*[494] mentions the interesting fact that the names of many irrigation channels which still lead from the Grand Anicut are mentioned in inscriptions of the period. The head sluice of the Periyavāykkāl near Muśiri was built in 1219.[495] The head sluice of the Uyyakoṇḍān channel which supplies water to the town of Trichinopoly is referred to in a grant of Kolōttunga III[496] dated 1205-06 A.D.

Kinds of irrigation works.

Works of irrigation divide themselves into tank, canal, and well irrigation, and incidental works like construction of embankments and tank bunds etc. Of these tank irrigation occupies the bulk of inscriptions relating to this subject. Canal irrigation, too, is mentioned; it existed on the banks of rivers; dams built across the rivers enabled the canals on both sides to be supplied with water. From canals, small channels supplied the fields with water. Well irrigation was specially suited

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[492] *Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 138.

[493] Gribble, *A History*, I, pp. 2, 188.

[494] Hemingway, *Trichinopoly*, p. 47.

[495] G.O. No. 452, Public, dated 10th June 1891, para 4, cited in Hemingway, *Trichinopoly*, p. 47; 70 of 1890.

[496] Ibid., 72 of 1890; See also *The Antiquarian Remains*, I, p. 269.

for garden crops, water being lifted up by means of an *ētta,* i.e. a pulley wheel, with a bucket suspended by a rope worked by hand.[407] Kambar lays emphasis on the importance of the *ētta* (*piccotta*) in the following stanza:—

'Let not rain fall. Let not kings rule the kingdom with justice. Let not each do his respective duty in the world. Let there be famine anywhere. Even if all these adverse circumstances happen at the same time, only if the peasants do their duty, water their corn from wells by means of 'ēttam' the corn will grow and there will be no hunger in the land.'[408]

Problems of irrigation, mainly three: i. Construction. ii. Maintenance iii. Distribution.

Whether it was tank, canal or well irrigation, the problems regarding irrigation may be brought under three heads:—

i. Building, construction, original work.

ii. Maintenance, preservation, including enlargement or improvement of existing works.

iii. Distribution.

i. Construction: agency.-Public (Government).

The agency for the construction of dams and tanks was either public or private. When the state stepped in to construct big tanks or embankments it was due partly to the personal desire of the king to obtain merit and partly to his desire to increase the well-being of his people. The former was indeed a

407 *Ēttam*—218 of 1926.

408 Kambar, *Ērelupadu,* verse 39.

powerful incentive—and is fully set forth in the Porumāmiḷḷa tank inscription dated 1369 A.D.[499] His interest in the well-being of his subjects in relation to irrigation had a two-fold application—i. in or near a village already under cultivation,[500] the construction of a tank would be a powerful stimulus to the reclamation of waste land, and when coupled with a graduated scale of assessment, to the increase of cultivation. Indeed this is laid down as being one of the important functions of a king in the *Āmuktamālyada.* This would indirectly help to increase the public revenue to the king; ii. the opening up of irrigational facilities was the first step in the foundation of new village settlements,[501] this being a means of coping with the pressure of population.[502]

Private:
(a) Individuals.

Private enterprise also had its share in constructing works of irrigation. Private individuals, like kings, often constructed such works in order to obtain merit for themselves or their relatives. In 1188, a merchant,

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[499] See supra, p. 200.

[500] e.g. 434 of 1908, *A.R.E.*, part ii, para 50.

[501] See supra, 194.

[502] Examples of government officers understanding the duty of constructing irrigation works are numerous in the inscriptions. We may mention a few:—

1063 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, VI, Kaḍūr 161.
1151 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, XII, Tumkūr 9.
1180 A.D., Chandrasekhara Sastri, *Economic Conditions, H.M.U.J.*, II, p. 198.
1184 A.D., Ibid.
1250 A.D., *A.R.E.*, 1903, para 12.
1340 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, IX, Bangalore 111.
1369-70 A.D., *Ep. Ind.*, XIV, pp. 97 ff.
1409-10 A.D., 162 of 1899.
1520 A.D., Paes, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 244-5.

Dāsi-seṭṭi, for the merit of his son, enlarged the tank at Bāṇavūr and made a sluice and built two new tanks.[503] In 1285 Lalāmadēva and his brother built a tank in memory of their mother.[504]

When the state helped, it did so in one of three ways:—

i. Remission of taxes on water or on land irrigated by the tank. Thus we find in an inscription: "One *araṇi* of water in the year......may be obtained and used, the second year a moderate assessment, the third year the fixed assessment to date, on which terms all may enter and plough for all time".[505]

ii. The grant of land as reward for having built tanks. In 1177 A.D., a grant of land was made to Narasimhadēva of Maddūr, the proprietor of the big tank of Ātakūr, for constructing and strengthening it, and also a palace was built and given to him in Ātakūr.[506] In 1287 Honna-Māra-Gauḍa obtained a *koḍige* from Kambaya-daṇṇāyaka below the tank he had built in the name of his mother.[507]

But the individual did not always depend on the support of the state. In 1441 we are told the Malla-ṇārya, a Brahman from Udayagiri, built a tank at the

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[503] *Ep. Car.*, V, Arsikere 22.

[504] Chandrasekhara Sastri, *Economic Conditions*, *H.M.U.J.*, II, p. 200.

[505] *Ep. Car.*, III, Seringapatam 148.

[506] *Ep. Car.*, III, Maṇḍya 44.

[507] *Ep. Car.*, XII, Tumkūr 27 and 28.

See also 725 of 1919 from Manakurti, Bellary, dated 1498 A.D.—grant of land to a private individual for having constructed a tank, 1322 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, III, Maṇḍya 40.

village of Maṇḍanapāti and gave some land for a flower-garden.[508]

Among private agencies in addition to individuals. sometimes the village community jointly also built tanks or embankments, or gave facilities for such construction. The residents of Pottapināḍu in 1272-73 met in the maṇḍapa and decided to raise one *māḍai* from every village in the district to construct an embankment on the side of the river Cheyyēru and prevent any possible damage from the floods to the temple.[509]

(b) The village community.

Occasionally we meet with instances where specific sums were not collected, but a village or group of villages was entrusted with the work of building new dams in their parts and bear the profits and losses separately.[510]

Or again the inhabitants of a village would utilise the funds of the temple to have a tank dug.[511] As an instance of facilities given by a joint body, we may cite the following: The Brahmans of Turaveyakere agreed that "for building houses, wells, drains, ponds and tanks, stones could be taken from wherever they were found and that none should obstruct the removal of the stones from the fields".[512]

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[508] 269 of 1905.

[509] 404 of 1911.

[510] 1263 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, XII, Tiptūr 2.

[511] *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 29.

[512] Chandrasekhara Sastri, op. cit., p. 212.

The particular tank itself apparently satisfied the requirements; we are further told that there were one thousand labourers (working) at the tank every day and a hundred carts were employed for the masonry work of the sluice and wall. And the tank, which was 6250 yards long, 8¾ high and 10 broad, was completed in two years.

We have a vivid description in the pages of Paes of the building of a tank by the Vijayanagara king Krishṇarāya with the aid of Joao della Ponte, a Portuguese engineer: "The king made a tank there, which, as it seems to me, has the width of a falcon-shot, and it is at the mouth of two hills, so that all the water which comes from either one side or the other collects there; and besides this, water comes to it from more than three leagues by pipes which run along the lower parts of the range outside...... In order to make this tank, the said king broke down a hill which enclosed the ground occupied by the said tank. In the tank I saw so many people at work that there must have been fifteen or twenty thousand men, looking like ants, so that you could not see the ground on which they walked, so many there were; this tank the king portioned out amongst his captains, each of whom had the duty of seeing that the people placed under him did their work, and that the tank was finished and brought to completion".[518] Nuniz referring to the same tank says:

"The king commanded to throw down quantities of stone and cast down many great rocks into the valley, but everything fell to pieces, so that all the work done in

[518] Paes, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 244-45.

the day was destroyed each night, and the king amazed at this sent to call his wise men and sorcerers and asked them what they thought of this thing. They told him that his idols were not pleased with this work, it being so great and he giving them nothing, and that unless he spilled there the blood of men or women or buffaloes that work would never be finished. So the king sent to bring hither all the men who were his prisoners, and who deserved death, and ordered them there to be beheaded; and with this the work advanced. He made a bank across the middle of the valley, so lofty and wide that it was a crossbow-shot in breadth and length, and had large openings; and below it he put pipes by which the water escaped, and when they wish so to do they close these".[519]

Testimony to skill.

Was the work done skilfully? It is interesting to see that modern engineers have given unstinting praise to the skill displayed in old irrigation works. Mr. Horsley, the engineer of the Pāṇḍyan canal, has observed:

"In other countries, and in India also, an engineer generally works on his own lines in developing any large scheme of irrigation, and naturally credits his own skill and perseverance with the success of his undertaking. Here, however, I have no hesitation in saying that it has been an unmixed pleasure to me, from a professional point of view, to merely follow the lines of the original constructors of the Pāṇḍyan canal and Pulpanabapoorum Poothenaur, because the evidence of

[519] Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 365.

their skill and almost superhuman perseverance was so marked; and I have, in carrying out the works, felt contented and fully satisfied to follow in the footsteps of those whom I cannot but consider to have been masters in their art and *facile princeps* in irrigation engineering."[520]

The maintenance of irrigation works was at least as important as the construction of new ones. Maintenance involved the repair of damaged banks and the removal of silt to prevent the tank or other irrigation work being closed up. Damage might result from natural causes as well as artificial. Such details as the damage caused to the bunds of tanks on account of heavy rains and floods are not absent from inscriptions.[521] Wanton destruction was also not unknown. Probably the best evidence that it existed is the mention in inscriptions of agreements among the people of a locality that they should not cause any damage to the trees, wells, tanks, etc.[522]

ii. Maintenance.

The problem of maintenance thus resolves itself into the prevention of wanton damage and the repair of damage that could not be prevented, due either to natural or artificial causes, the agency involved in and the methods of maintenance.

Wanton damage was attempted to be prevented in two ways:—state punishment and voluntary agreement. *The Mitākṣarā* classes the person who breaks reservoirs with the one who causes the destruction of a child in

Prevention of damage.

[520] Recorded in Nagam Aiya, *Travancore*, III, p. 102.

[521] 542 of 1905, 214 of 1911 (dated 1262-3 A.D.), 183 of 1901, (dated 1192 A.D.).

[522] *Inscriptions of the Pudukōṭṭai State*, 156.

embryo, and one guilty of man-slaughter, and the punishment enjoined on him or her is tying a stone round the neck and plunging into water so that they might not float up.[523]

Mutual agreements among people were intended to achieve the same object. It was covenanted by the inhabitants of Kīranūr that they should not cause any damage to the trees, wells, tanks, etc., belonging to them, during any strife that might arise among them. Any breach of the above covenant was to be punished by the confiscation of a portion of the lands of the offender to the temple, such portions varying according as the injury was done to the tank, well or tree.[524] Another method of prevention of damage was making it obligatory to take permission to dig the earth in the tanks[525] so that proper control could be exercised over the persons in charge of such work.

Rules and precautions notwithstanding, irrigation works had to be repaired and silt had to be removed occasionally. Funds for such work came from several sources. The first was private charity. Such charity in the direction of repairing breached irrigation works was praised; an inscription of 1413[526] says, 'a ruined family, a breached tank or pond, a fallen kingdom, whoso restores or repairs a damaged temple, acquires merit four-fold of that which accrued from them at first', and the unlimited reward was explained to laymen to induce

Finance: (a) Private charity.

[523] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 278.
[524] *Inscriptions of the Pudukōṭṭai State*, 156.
[525] 87 of 1908.
[526] *Ep. Car.*, VII, Shimoga 30, 1413 A.D.

them to take up such work.[527] The common way of providing for the maintenance of irrigation works was the gift of land—severally called *ērippaṭṭi*,[528] *goḍage*,[529] *kuḷappaṭṭi*.[530] Sometimes the land assigned was earmarked for specific pieces of work in connexion with the upkeep of the tank, e.g. 'keeping up a cart for the Agara tank'.[531]

Private munificence in this connexion also took the form of repairing the tank on occasions. Merchants, particularly, were very forward in this respect. An inscription[532] of 1262-63 found on the margin of a well at Tiruveḷḷaṟai records that a merchant repaired it as it had suffered considerable damages from floods and other causes. Similarly breaches in the dams were repaired.[533]

Charitable individuals often helped in cases of accidental breaches, by floods and other causes.[534] Where the private individual did not undertake the work of repair, he contented himself with paying a sum of money, leaving the local village assembly, where it existed, to utilise the sum for the maintenance or repair of the tank.[535] The sum of money provided might be in

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[527] *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dāvaṇagere 29 dated 1424 A.D.

[528] 283 of 1919, *A.R.E.*, 1922, part ii, para 70.
206 of 1921.

[529] *Ep. Car.*, XII, Tumkūr 27 and 28.

[530] 211 of 1914.

[531] *Ep. Car.*, IX, Bangalore 80.

[532] 542 of 1905.
Ep. Ind., XI, p. 155.

[533] 434 of 1923, 1467 A.D.

[534] 434 of 1923, 1467 A.D.

[535] 214 of 1911.

the form of an endowment. Thus Allāḷa-Dēva made a grant of 200 *gadyāṇa* for the tank of Viṣṇusamudra, the interest on which at the rate of one *bēḷe* i.e. 15 per cent—30 *gadyāṇa* had to be applied for repairing the tank, the sluice and the channels.[536]

While the charity of individuals was thus no doubt useful, particularly in repairing breaches in tank-bunds and similar accidents beyond man's control, its application was necessarily spasmodic. The action taken by individuals jointly, or by the villagers of one or several villages as a whole was of greater importance. Thus an inscription registers a sale of 1 *kāḍi* of paddy for each crop by the residents of Porpandai for the benefit of the tank.[537] In the later Nellore records provision is found to have been made for the proper maintenance of irrigation tanks by levying contributions of grain at the rate of one *kuñca* of grain on every *puṭṭi* annually. The grain so collected was to be entirely and scrupulously spent upon the repairs and upkeep of the concerned tanks.[538] A Nellore record [539] says that to ensure the better cultivation of the wet land under the Tangeḷḷa tank, Brahman ināmdars and every one else should contribute to the estate for *amaram* (of the tank) at the rate of one *na*, that is, one *tūm*, on every *puṭṭi* of the total produce; with this grain the tank bund should be thoroughly repaired every year.[540]

536 *Ep. Car.*, VI, Kaḍūr 92.
537 402 of 1923.
538 *A.R.E.*, 1922, part ii, para 70.
539 *Nellore Inscriptions*, II, p. 628.
540 ibid.

Among private agencies, the temple also helped in the maintenance of tanks. The richer temples had surplus funds with them, or had lands to sell. In cases of emergency, the temple authorities helped the villagers.[541]

(b) The temple's contribution.

Two inscriptions refer to a village tank having breached near the sluice. No funds were available for the repair and the fields irrigated by it remained uncultivated for a long time. The temple authorities helped the villagers by selling a portion of the temple land and utilizing the proceeds for repairing the breach in the tank.[542] Land was occasionally granted by the temple to encourage the construction of irrigation works and reclamation of lands.[543]

It is instructive to note that under the terms of such grants of land, the temple expected the donee to maintain the tank properly. In the instance last cited, when the descendants of the donee neglected the proper maintenance of the tank, they had to renounce their rights over two-thirds of the land granted to them in favour of a number of people who undertook to repair the tank at their own expense.[544]

The action taken by government in the maintenance of irrigation works may be considered under two heads, local and central. While the sphere of action of these two parts of the government could not always be marked out in every case, some general features seem clear. One

(c) State help.

[541] 241 and 251 of 1906, *A.R.E.*, 1907, part ii, para 53—1382-83 A.D.

[542] Ibid.

[543] 560 of 1902, Venkayya, *Irrigation*, *A.S.I.*, 1903-04, p. 211.

[544] 493 and 552 of 1902, Venkayya, *Irrigation*, *A.S.I.*, 1903-04, p. 211.

method by which the local body helped in this direction was by making it obligatory for the villagers to pay a local cess for such purposes. The great men of the village of Tribhuvanamādēvi-caturvēdimangalam made an order to the effect that every 6 *mā* of land situated within a specified locality and irrigated by the tank called Madhurāntakappērēri must pay 1 *kalam* of paddy as *ēri-āyam* and the tank supervision committee of the year ought to collect the dues and maintain the tank in proper repair.[545] That this cess was levied equally on wet and dry lands in some localities may be inferred from an inscription from Munnūr[546] which records that a private individual purchased the right of collecting 1 *tūṇi* on each *mā* of wet land and 1 *tūṇi* on the dry lands (*kaḷani-puñjai* and *kāṭṭu-puñjai*), and gave it over to the assembly of the village for strengthening the bund whereever necessary. It appears as though this cess was only one of the items which made up what was called the 'tank fund'.[547] With the evidence available now, it would be too much to make a generalisation that every village had a tank fund. But where it was a regular feature, the fines collected from the locality also went to swell the tank fund. An inscription of the eleventh century says that the great men elected for (the supervision of) the tank shall be entitled to levy a fine of one *kaḷañju* of gold in favour of the tank fund from those betel-leaf sellers in the village who sell

545 1044 A.D., 192 of 1919, Pondicherry, *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 17.

546 66 of 1919, *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 17.

547 *Ērikku-mudalāga*, *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 6, line 18.

betel leaves elsewhere than at the temple of Piḍāri.[548] Lands of defaulters of such revenue were temporarily taken over for the benefit of the tank[549] till they paid their dues. If they did not pay, the lands were sold for the benefit of the tank. If any man of the village objected to this course, his own land was to be sold similarly and the sale proceeds credited to the tank. In the Canarese inscriptions, we find mention of taxes severally called *Maṭṭe*, *kāluve* and *keṟe*, the proceeds of which were used for repairing tanks.[550]

Another method by which local bodies helped was to supplement private enterprise. A lady made a gift of gold for a boat to be launched in a big tank. The assembly of Parundūr undertook to supply 150 *kāḍi* of *pañcavāra* paddy for its maintenance.[551] In another[552] we read that a person presented a cart for the tank to the mahājanas of Kellangeṟe, and they made a grant for the cart driver. In 1367 A.D., they agreed to pay certain dues to provide for the livelihood of the cart driver and for his expenses.

In other instances, they merely acted as trustees for private endowments, the interest alone being utilised by them to remove silt etc.[553]

Again in other instances,[554] they remitted the taxes on a piece of land for the benefit of the tank or

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548 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 6, 1002 A.D.

549 61 of 1898.

550 *Ep. Car.*, V, Channarāyapaṭṭana 269; see p. 533.

551 252 of 1921.

552 *Ep. Car.*, V, Arsikere 116—1294 A.D.

553 474 of 1925.

554 7 of 1926.

well or they made a grant of land to a person who had done repairs at his own expense; this land might be that which was reclaimed as a result of the repair; again it might be the whole or part of the lands.[555] The help rendered by the central government is also observable in more than one way:—

In 1471 we are told that an officer remitted the taxes hitherto paid to the palace, viz., *vibhūti-kāṇikkai, jōḍi, śūlavari,* etc., to help in the repair of the breached village tank.[556]

In connexion with taxes it may be observed that the aid of the central government was also available in forcing recalcitrant villagers to pay the local cesses towards the tank fund. We are told in one instance[556a] that the villagers agreed to contribute to the revenue of the tank. The committee for 'supervision of tanks' in the village levied the contributions and agreed to arrange for the removal of silt annually. If any of the villagers refused to pay, the then reigning king could impose a fine to be credited to the tank fund and have the work carried out.

Sometimes, the central government provided money. Vīra-Narasimha-dēva, having repaired the Harahu channel, assigned to the Brahmans of Toṇḍanūr agrahāra 64 *gadyāṇa* from the river tolls of Kurvvankanāḍ to provide for annual repairs of the channel.[557]

[555] *Ep. Car.*, X, Mulbāgal 7.

[556] 8 of 1922, *A.R.E.*, 1922, part ii, para 49.

[556a] 178 of 1902; Venkayya, Irrigation, *A.S.I.*, 1903-04, p. 207.

[557] *Ep. Car.*, III, Seringapatam, 154, 1160 A.D. Other examples: 183 of 1901 and 178 of 1902.

Another interesting way by which the state provided funds in particular localities is noted in an inscription dated 1375.[558] Yādava-Nārāyaṇa gave to all the Brahmans of the immemorial *agrahāra* Lakshmī-Nārāyaṇa-pura, for the tank of that place, the property of those who died without heirs in the village of their first settlement.

The state officers also stepped in now and then to make improvements to wells or tanks.[559] The part of the state in the maintenance of irrigation works was not confined to the provision of finance. The same care which it showed in the maintenance of irrigation works in general was shown by it in the maintenance of tanks in lands it granted to donees. In such cases the state made it a condition that the donee should set apart a sum for the upkeep of the pond. An inscription[560] dated 1290 A.D. specifies that the grantees of the land should set aside at the rate of 3 *honnu* a year for 1000 *kamba* of dry land for the upkeep of the pond. Elsewhere more detailed regulations were attached to a grant. The Tiruvālangāḍu grant of the sixth year of Rājēndra Cōḷa I contains the following conditions or *vyavasthas* regarding a piece of land granted:—

The lands of this village shall be irrigated by canals dug (proportionately) as per water assigned (from those canals); others (who are not tenants of the *dēvadāna* lands) shall not be permitted to cut branches from these canals (*kuṟangaṟu*), dam (the passage of water) across, put up small *piccoṭṭas*, or

558 *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dāvaṇagere 70.

559 15 of 1917, dated 1162, *A.R.E.*, 1917, part ii, para 13.

560 *Ep. Car.*, III, Tirumakūḍal—Narasīpūr 27.

bale (out) water in baskets. The water (thus) assigned shall not be wasted. Such water shall be (appropriately) used for irrigation (after) being regulated. Channels and springs passing across the lands of other villages to irrigate (the lands of) this village, shall (be permitted to) flow over (the boundary line) and to cast up silt. Channels and springs passing across the lands of this village to irrigate (the lands of) outside villages shall (also be permitted) to flow over and cast up (silt)........reservoirs and wells shall be dug........the embankments of the tanks of this village shall be permitted to be raised within their (own) limits (to any suitable height) so as to hold the utmost quantity of water that may be let into those (tanks).[561]

We have dealt with the part played by private and public agencies in the matter of financing the recurring charges in connexion with irrigation; we may now consider the income accruing from the tanks themselves.

(d) Income from the tank.

This income was in the nature of rents for the right of fishing in the tank, technically called *pāśippāṭṭam* or *mīn pāṭṭam.*[562] We have several instances where the income realised by the lease of the right of fishing in the tank was to be utilised for deepening the tank,[563] or, as elsewhere stated, for removing silt from the tank[564] or sometimes for the repair of the tank.[565]

561 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, p. 437.

562 149 of 1908, 1261 A.D.; 326 of 1909, 1112 A.D.

563 145 of 1924, 424 of 1922, 118 of 1921, 133 of 1921.

564 149 of 1908, 1261 A.D.

565 326 of 1909, 1112 A.D.

From the problem of funds we pass on to that of the agency for the upkeep of the works. Private individuals, by themselves, undertook the work in some cases, but this they did when there were emergent repairs. Generally the agency was the local governing body. In some villages of the south there was a committee, called the committee for "supervision of tanks".[566] It is remarkable, however, that the irrigation committee is found to have existed only in one type of villages—the *caturvēdimangalam*.[567] Where they existed, they functioned as a committee of the village assembly. Elaborate rules are given in the Uttaramallūr inscriptions[568] regarding the composition of the committee. This body consisted of six members who held office for 360 days and then retired. If any one who served on the committee was guilty of any offence he was removed at once. Regarding their functions, we may gather, from references in the inscriptions,[569] that all endowments made in favour of tanks were entrusted to them and that they had to invest money endowments in the best possible way. We may presume that they utilized

Agency for maintenance.

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[566] *Śrivāriya-perumakkaḷ*, *Śrivāriya perum Bhaṭṭar*, *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, pp. 10 and 20.

Śri vāriyam seyvōm, line 8, *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, pp. 12 and 19, 232.

[567] supra, p. 140 ff.

I believe that the statement of Venkayya, viz., "It will not be out of place here to make a few remarks about the Committee for 'supervision of tanks' which each village in the Tamil country seems to have had in ancient times", (Venkayya, *Irrigation*, *A.S.I.*, 1903-04, p. 210) is a wide generalisation not supported by evidence.

[568] Published in the *A.S.I.*, 1904-05, pp. 131—45. A summary appeared in the *A.R.E.*, 1899, part ii, paras 58 ff.

[569] 183 of 1901, Venkayya, *Irrigation*, *A.S.I.*, 1903-04, p. 210.

them in reclaiming waste land and cultivating it, in order to pay the interest on the endowment from the produce. They had to look after the cultivation of lands granted for the maintenance of tanks. "The income from both these sources had to be applied to meet the charges for the annual or periodical removal of silt in tanks and for repairs, so far, I suppose, as funds would permit. Fines, to be credited to the tank-fund, were levied and collected by them."[570]

According to Venkayya, therefore, the tank supervision committee was, in the main, concerned with endowments and fines, and their utilisation for the maintenance of irrigation works. Inscriptions discovered since 1903 point to the fact that the tank-committee was empowered by the general assembly of the village to collect a regular cess. 'The great men of the village of Tribhuvanamādēvi-caturvēdi-mangalam made an order in 1044 A.D. to the effect that every 6 *mā* of land situated within a specified locality and irrigated by the tank called Madhurāntakappērēri must pay 1 *kalam* of paddy as *ēri āyam* and the great men in charge of the tank supervision committee of the year ought to collect the dues and maintain the tank in proper repair.'[571] Besides the usual cess, other fines, as e.g. fines collected from "those betel-leaf sellers in the village who sell (betel leaves) elsewhere, but at the temple of Piḍāri" were authorised to be collected by the committee and added to the tank

[570] Venkayya, *Irrigation*, *A.S.I.*, 1903-04, p. 210.

[571] 192 of 1919, 1044 A.D.; *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 17; see also 66 of 1919.

fund.[572] While the local agency was the executive it did not prevent them from using the service of private individuals to collect the taxes.

An inscription from Munnūr,[573] as has been noted above, records that a private individual purchased the right of collecting 1 *tūṇi* on each *mā* of wet land and 1 *tūṇi* on the dry lands and gave it over to the assembly of the village for strengthening the bund wherever necessary.[574] While the maintenance of irrigation was thus carried on well by the local agency, cases of mismanagement did sometimes occur. Two inscriptions[575] dated 1110 A. D. record that the bank of the tank at Tribhuvanamādevi-caturvēdimaṅgalam had breached and that a gift of land was made by a generous donor for repairing the bank and constructing a stone rivetment. "The paddy accruing for the repair of the tank *was being mixed up with the general dues from the village* and the above noted repairs were not being attended to."

The work of maintenance.

The details as to how the money was spent in improving and maintaining tanks and the actual work of the men who were put in charge of looking to their maintenance and their remuneration are clearly set forth in inscriptions. In one instance, we are told, a boat was utilized for removing silt.[576] One hundred and forty baskets of earth had to be taken

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[572] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 6.

[573] 66 of 1919.

[574] *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 17.

[575] 215 and 216 of 1919; italics are mine.

[576] 343 of 1903, Venkayya, *Irrigation*, op. cit., pp. 206-07.

out of the tank and deposited on the bund every day. Each of these baskets was big enough to hold six *marakkāl*, i.e. about 200 cubic feet of earth had to be taken out every day. The establishment consisted of six labourers, each of whom had to be paid one *padakku* of paddy every day, a supervisor who was given 1 *kuṟuṇi* and a half of paddy each day, a carpenter and blacksmith for repairing the boat, each of whom got annually 2 *kalam* and a half of paddy and the fishermen who supplied wood (for repairs to the boat) and got 2 *kalam* of paddy annually. Altogether provision was made for an expenditure of 412 *kalam* of paddy annually on the removal of silt.[577] The duties and rights of the fisherman in charge, in regard to the property of the god, are thus specified :—" he should look after the dam and the channel, so that the water flows to the pond without running to waste, and, in case there was any deficiency of water in the dam and pond, inform the temple authorities and the villagers of this and with the help of the unpaid labourers (*veṭṭiyāḷ*) of the village raise the dam and take care of it; that he should receive for this work 1 *mā* of tax free land (specified), 1 *tūṇi* and 4 *nāḻi* of paddy from the cultivated lands of the village and a bundle of unthreshed paddy containing about a *kuṟuṇi* from ....that he should supply the temple authorities with one *paḍi* of *kaṟi* (? fish) every day; that he should pay annually a channel tax (*vāykkāl-pāṭṭam*) of 6 *paṇam;* that in place of *pāśippāṭṭam* he should defray the expenses of a festival in the temple; and that, in

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[577] Venkayya, *Irrigation*, *A.S.I.*, 1903-4, pp. 206-7.

case a large quantity of fish was obtained when removing silt from the pond, he should supply *kaṟi* in addition to the stipulated quantity".[578]

The duties assigned to the fisherman Piḷḷaiyān of Veḷḷalūr in Pērūrnāḍu in looking after the anicut (*aṇai*) and the channel, in the 22nd year of a Sundara Pāṇḍya, were almost similar. He had to see that the water did not escape above the dam, but was properly directed into the tank, notice the defects, if any, in the tank and the dam and report the matter to the villagers and the temple authorities. Acting on this information the village servant (*veṭṭiyāḷ*) had to repair the dam. Piḷḷaiyān was also to collect the taxes *vāykkāl-pāṭṭam* (canal-tax) and *pāśippāṭṭam* (fishing-tax) from the temple tenants at Śūralūr.[579]

His wages were often met by a grant of land *ērippaṭṭi*;[580] in other cases, payments 'to provide for the livelihood of the buffalo-man of the tank-cart, for oil, for wheel grease, crow-bar, pick-axe, oil and for other necessaries were made in the shape of a share of the duties on articles'.[581]

In many villages also, the ryots, whose land lay near the sources of water supply, arranged among themselves to provide the labour necessary for deepening the river beds or clearing the silt, the rule in some localities being that for every unit of land watered by the channel one cooly must be supplied; thus arose the custom of '*āḷamañji*'.[582]

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578 *A.R.M.*, 1918, p. 49.

579 304 of 1908, *A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, para 26.

580 See above.

581 1367 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, V, Arsikere 115.

582 *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 139; Francis, *South Arcot*, p. 133.

In the light of all this evidence regarding the maintenance of irrigation works it is difficult to accept Moreland's statement about Southern India in the first half of the 16th century, that we do not find "any suggestion of arrangements for keeping existing works in proper repair".[583]

Rules for the proper distribution of water also existed. An inscription dated 1228 A.D.[584] registers a sale of water (*nīr vilai*) stipulating the method by which the water had to be carried through a breached tank to another tank for the purpose of irrigation.[585] Another[586] contains the phrase '*as* (*per rules*) for the distribution of water' and states that the cultivators to whom the canal is not intended shall not cut open branch channels from it, nor bund up the water, nor raise it by small *piccoṭṭas,* nor bale it out by baskets; and those who have the right shall make the most economical use of the water without wasting it. Canals flowing across other villages to irrigate the lands of this village and *vice versa* shall be permitted to flow over the boundary line and to cast up silt. Besides, the embankments of tanks shall be allowed to be raised within their limits so that they may hold the maximum quantity of water.[587]

iii. Distribution of water.

Where the repair and maintenance of irrigation works was done in partnership, the distribution of

583 Moreland, *India*, p. 126.
584 90 of 1916, 1228 A.D.
585 90 of 1916.
586 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III. 151.
587 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 205.

water was regulated in proportion to expenses met by either party. An inscription of 1410 A.D.[588] tells us that the annual repairs and other expenses in connexion with the wells and tanks formed under the channel were borne in the proportion of 2|3 by the god and 1|3 by the Brahmans, and hence the water of the channel was also to be distributed in those same proportions.

When disputes concerning such distribution of water took place, they were often amicably settled by the people themselves[589] through arbitrators and the decision of the arbitrators was generally accepted, the acceptance being sealed in a few cases by a gift of land as a *tirunāmattukkāṇi* to the temple. Such disputes also took place between two or more villages;[590] and they were settled in the presence of the *mahāpradhāni*, or the leading men of both villages.

An interesting record of 1235 A. D. tells us that two villages were being irrigated from a certain tank; another village intervened for a share and in the quarrel that ensued one Rājarājappēraiyan was punished by mistake, and for the wrong punishment meted out to him, his son was given land as *udirappaṭṭi*.[591] Such disputes were attempted to be avoided, by the villagers of one village purchasing the right of taking water for irrigation through the sluice of their tank for a specified sum of money,[592] or by getting such-right as gift from

[588] 1410. *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dāvaṇagere 23.

[589] 1176 A.D., 424 of 1909, 200 of 1923, 1082 A.D.

[590] 357 of 1923, 1406 A.D.; 419 of 1925, 1509 A.D.

[591] 406 of 1925, *A.R.E.*, 1925, part ii, para 24.

[592] 376 of 1909.

the *ūr*.[593] The sum of money paid might be a lump sum as in this case or an annual contribution.[594]

While thus disputes were generally settled by the people of the locality, the king's interference was also sometimes resorted to. We have an order of Vīra Narasimhadēva dated 1286 A.D. (?)[595] that two tanks shall be fed by a certain channel. In 1259 A.D., we have an order[596] from the king Sundara Pāṇḍyadēva to the temple authorities not to take water from Iḍangaḷikāman for purposes of irrigation. Such instances, however, were only exceptions to the general statement that disputes were locally settled.

Finally it is refreshing to note that the early Mahomedan sovereigns in the Dekhan did not entirely neglect the irrigation works of Hindu times but maintained and extended them.[597]

iv. *Processes of cultivation*

The next topic in agricultural practice is the processes of cultivation. The details of such processes did not, however, generally interest the travellers, and so beyond a few hints from Varthema and Barbosa we get little from them to help us to describe with any precision the system of tillage then followed. We cannot, indeed, expect that there were any striking differences from what we are familiar with today, but at the same

Kambar, our authority.

593 405 and 406 of 1916; 399 of 1916, 1221 A.D.

594 *Ep. Car.*, IV, Nāgamangala 49.

595 215 of 1903, 1286 A.D.

596 14 of 1909.

597 Smith, *History*, p. 283.

time, it would be interesting to have a contemporary account of the implements used in tillage and the processes of agriculture. We have such an account in a work, which, though primarily a literary production, yet helps us to follow the details of agriculture with a fullness that is rarely possible to the student of economic history of any epoch. This is Kambar's '*Ērelupadu*', i.e. seventy stanzas in praise of the plough.[598]

Kambar's method is indeed the poetic method where the form is more important than the subject matter. The poet's ostensible aim is to praise the agriculturist and the benefit he confers on society, but the method he adopts is to mention each part of the plough and each process of agriculture and praise it in the truly poetical way. In the result, he enables us to construct a fair picture of the system of tillage followed in his time. The following observations are based on this work, helped by the incidental notices in inscriptions and travellers' accounts.

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[598]The exact date of Kambar is yet a matter on which scholars are not in agreement, but there can be no difficulty in assigning Kambar to the middle ages. This is based on the following evidence. There is a *veṇbā*—a kind of verse—current that Kambar published (recited for the first time in public) his *Rāmāyaṇam* in the Śrīrangam temple. But at the same time there are some legends current which make him a contemporary of Oṭṭakūttar, who was the court poet of Vikrama Cōḷa (1118—1135), Kulōttunga II (1135—1146) and Rāja Rāja II (1146—1162) on all of whom he has composed poems. But anachronistic legends exist in India about most famous authors, Sanskrit or Tamil, and cannot be accepted without corroboration.

There is a tradition among the Vaiṣṇavas that Nāthamunikaḷ, the great *Vaiṣṇava ācārya* of the 10th century A.D. presided over the publication of the *Rāmayaṇam* in the Śrīrangam temple. As this tradition confirms the testimony of the *veṇbā* referred to above Kambar may reasonably be assigned to the 10th century A.D.

An account of cultivation should begin with land. Arable land was of three sorts, wet, dry and garden, each being made up of different varieties of soil. We find gifts of land under *class twelve*,[599] the classification being according to the richness of the soil. Different varieties of paddy were cultivated on wet or *nañjai* lands. *Rāgi*, millet, *varagu*, and like products were cultivated on dry or *puñjai* lands. The garden lands generally appear to have been within village sites and crops like brinjal were cultivated there. The division, however, was not a hard and fast one. For valid reasons, wet land was converted into garden land for betel—the reason in one instance was the occurrence of drought and consequent failure of crops.[600] Similarly the dry land in a village was converted into wet land by having a channel cut, to irrigate it for growing paddy.[601]

The land.

Coming now to details we may note that fields had a variety of names, and they afford interesting sidelights on the practice of tillage. The number of harvests, e.g., the pulleya bayal, i.e. one which produced two crops,[602] the kind of crop grown e.g. rice field, areca-field, etc.,[603] ownership, e.g. *karumān* field—the field of the blacksmith,[604] the purpose for which the produce

Names of fields.

[599] 207 of 1919

[600] 191 of 1925.

[601] 355 of 1927, *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 31.

[602] *Ind. Ant.*, V, pp. 176—81. See Buchanan, *A Journey*, II, pp. 228 and 260.

[603] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 6.

[604] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, p. 106.

was utilized[605] e.g. *śrībali-paṭṭi*, meaning land the produce of which was intended for offerings to god, the extent of land, e.g. *araikkāl-mukkāl* field,[606] the native village of the owner of the field[607] e.g. *Araiśūr-vāḍagai*, are indicated by the names in vogue. Perhaps, the most significant from the economic point of view was that which named the fields with reference to their position in the distribution of water, wet lands being divided for this purpose into flats severally called *kaṇṇāṟu, śadiram, śiragu, śadukkam, pāḍagam.*[608] From the same point of view, the lands were severally distinguished according as they were watered by rivers or tanks.[609]

Size of fields.

Regarding the size of the fields, we have not much evidence but from the mention[610] of plots measuring so small a fraction as 1|320 *vēli* we may infer that fragmentation of holdings had proceeded far.

Hedges.

The fields were also generally hedged as now,[611] though unenclosed fields were not unknown. Vijñānēśvara quotes with approval[612] the old *Smṛti* rule, 'The owner of the fields shall make there a hedge over which a camel cannot

605 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, pp. 106, 109 and 371.

606 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, p. 106.

607 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, pp. 109, 111.

608 *kaṇṇāṟu*—block of land.
sadiram—square.
śiragu—on the side of the channel.
South Ind. Inscr., III, p. 248, Nos. 112 and p. 177 n. 4.

609 *Arupāyccal nilam*, in text line 2, *Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 296 (?).

610 *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 562.

611 Sarasvati, *Political Maxims*, *J.I.H.*, IV, part iii, p. 66.

612 Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 162.

peep, and stop every gap through which a dog or a boar can thrust his head' and he lays down further that the rule regarding the punishment to owners of cattle straying into fields applied to enclosed fields, and did not apply to unenclosed fields. Mādhavācārya tells us that fields were to be enclosed even before the seedlings had come up.[613]

The cultivation of paddy was apparently done in the time honoured method which the peasant had been following for ages. Barbosa's description[614] is as true today as it was of the middle ages—"Very good rice is reaped....All round they sow it in valleys and flats covered with water, for it is sown and reaped in water: they plough the land as we do with oxen and buffaloes yoked in pairs, and the ploughshare has a hollow in it wherein the rice is carried when the land is flooded, and as the share ploughs, the rice goes on settling down under water and earth. On dry land they sow by hand".

Wet cultivation: rice.

To this description, Varthema[615] adds, "The men of Calicut, when they wish to sow rice, observe this practice. First they plough the land with oxen as we do, and when they sow the rice in the field they have all the instruments of the city continually sounding and making merry. They also have ten or twelve men

[613] Mādhavācārya, *Parāśara-Mādhava*, III, p. 266.

[614] Barbosa, *An Account*, I, p. 192. Dames, the editor, (Ibid, n.) notes that the method of sowing by a drill in the ploughshare is remarkable. In many parts of North India a primitive drill is also used, but it consists of a hollow bamboo attached to the share and not of a hollow in the share itself.

[615] Varthema, *Travels*, pp. 166—67.

clothed like devils, and these unite in making great rejoicing with the players on the instruments, in order that the devils may make that rice very productive".

Kambar's evidence: (a) the implements used.

At this point we may take up Kambar; his keen observation makes his mention or description of the implements[615a] used including the several parts of the plough and the different processes of agriculture very instructive:

kalappai (*alappadai*)—the plough axe—that which digs the earth and makes the furrows.

mēḻi—a handle which the peasants press in order to adjust the plough and make the plough axe run deep into the earth and make deep furrows.

ūṟṟāṇi—a large nail which connects the plough-axe with the upper wood and makes it firm.

nukattaḍi—the yoke.

nukkattoḷai—the holes on either side of the yoke in which two iron or wooden rods are thrust so that the yoke may rest on the neck of the bulls and not slip from position.

nukattāṇi—the iron or wooden rod at the centre of the yoke which holds it in position.

pūṭṭāṅkayiṟu—the rope that binds the yoke on the neck of the bulls.

tōḍai—the rope that connects the handle with the yoke and the neck of the bull.

615a Kambar, *Ereḻupadu*, verses 3 to 14 and 35, 55, 63, 64 and 65.

koḻu[616]—the pointed or sharp iron at the end of the plough-axe, which digs the earth and causes the furrow.

koḻuvāṇi—the nail that joins the pointed iron (*koḻu*) to the plough-axe.

tāṟṟukkōl—the whip in the hands of the peasant.

uḻaverudu—the ox or bull that ploughs.

māmaḍi—a leveller.

naḍavumunai—the small wooden peg used by the peasant in order to make the small pits when the seedlings are transplanted.

arimitikōl—the stick that is used to remove the corn by beating the hay.

kūḍai—a basket.

politūṟṟun kūḍai—a winnow (a fan like basket) which is used to sweep off the dust and the bits of hay that are mixed with the paddy and make it clean.

polikōl—a stick steeped in dung-water or *chunam,* or some coloured water,—which is used to make some mark on the heap of corn covered with hay.

(b) Processes of cultivation.

Similarly, the analysis of the processes of cultivation as given by Kambar[617] might well pass for a modern account, for we have had hardly any noticeable change in the implements used or in the methods of cultivation of rice since then. The simple faith in an unseen power which made the peasant look for an auspicious

[616] It is quite an interesting thing to note what Mādhavācārya says (Mādhavācārya; *Parāśara-Mādhava*, I, p. 432), in this connexion: A ploughman by ploughing the earth with an iron tipped ploughshare commits greater sin than a fisherman does by killing fish.

Lōha sahitēna lāngala mukhēna prāṇinām chinna vadhō bhavati'ti matsya vadhāt pāpādhikyam uktam.

[617] See Note C.

day to begin the season's operations, the comradeship in work as indicated by the traditional custom of singing folk-songs at harvest time, the emphasis on charity and the little details of reaping, harvesting and storing the grain all remind us that the life of the agriculturist has undergone little modification since the time when Kambar wrote.

And we need add little to it to complete the picture except in regard to two points, viz., the bulls yoked to the plough, and the harvest.

Additional evidence in regard to the bulls used and the harvest.

Regarding the bulls yoked to the plough, Mādhavācārya, in commenting on the second verse of Parāśara, viz., "A Brahman who daily performs the six religious rites known as *ṣat karma* might take to agriculture as a means of livelihood", quotes Hārita to the effect that it is quite virtuous to yoke eight bullocks to a plough. Yoking six bullocks is neither virtuous nor sinful. It is only the cruel that cause a plough to be drawn by four bullocks. Those who yoke a pair of bulls to a plough should be branded as killers of Brahmans[618] and later on the same author quotes with approval Parāśara to say that "a hungry, thirsty, or fatigued bullock should not be yoked to a plough".

How people in certain localities forecasted a good harvest is noted by the author of the *Tao i chih lio,* in 1349 A.D.:—

"In the residence of the chief there are stone cranes over seven feet high; they have white bodies

[618] Mādhavācārya, *Parāśara-Mādhava*, I, p. 427. This implies the use of a heavy plough such as is now used in some Telugu districts.

and red crests, and look as if they were alive. The people look upon them as fairy cranes. When, between the fourth and fifth moons, they hear their night cry, then (they know) that the year will have an abundant harvest".[619] Montecorvino noted that in Coromandel "they sow and reap at almost all seasons, and this because it is always warm and never cold".[620] The more common mention, and what must have been the more common practice, is of two harvests—the *kār* and the *paśānam*.[621] The cultivation for the *kār* season had to be begun by the end of May, the water left in the tank out of the previous year's supply being used for the purpose. The crop was sown about June or July and, being a six months' crop, was harvested about December.[622] The latter was a kind of coarse paddy which ripened during the period from September to March.[623] Occasionally, in the inscriptions we also find mention of fields which bore three crops,[624] the terms *orupū, irு pū,* and *kaḍaipū* (literally, the last) being applied to the several harvests.[625]

It is interesting to note that the terms *kār* and *paśānam* as applied to the harvesting served a useful purpose as an important mode of reckoning for many transactions, e.g. the grant of land as gifts is said to

619 *Tao i chih lio*, Rockhill, *Notes*, *T'oung Pao*, XVI, p. 462.

620 John of Montecorvino, Yule, *Cathay*, III, p. 61.

621 *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 6, section 11 and Nos. 9 and 22.

622 Variety in different districts in the season for the *kār* crop undoubtedly existed, just as there is in modern times. See Le Fanu, *Salem*, II, pp. 100—101.

623 *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, p. 74 n., 1.

624 *Nellore Inscriptions*, II, p. 742.

625 *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, p. 117, line 9 text lines 2 and 3 a. cf. *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, p. xii, note.

have taken effect from the *paśānam* crop of the 30th year.[626] Interest was also similarly reckoned. Again, in estimating the amount of paddy required for the maintenance of a family, we are told, "for each share was granted 3 *kāṇi* of land for the *kār* crop and two for the *paśānam*.....it was found.....insufficient for their maintenance and consequently one *mā* for *kār* and two *mā* for *pāśānam* were granted in addition to those already given."[627]

In all the above, we are mainly concerned with paddy, the chief product of wet cultivation. For the age, indeed, paddy was the staple crop. As Kambar poetically put it, it is beautiful paddy that saves the world, causes happiness, makes every other thing beautiful, increases the worth of all, adds beauty to all; education, wealth, trade, good rule, religion, *varṇāśrama dharma* all depend on paddy.[628]

Garden cultivation: pepper.

Before we pass on we may give some account of garden cultivation and we may take as a representative of this, pepper.

The pepper plant and its cultivation.

Regarding the plant and its cultivation Al Idrīsī, at the beginning of the twelfth century noted: "It is a shrub, having a trunk like that of the vine; the leaf is like the convolvulus, but longer; it bears grapes like those of the Shabūka, each bunch of which is sheltered by a leaf which curls over when the fruit is ripe......... Ibn Khurdādba states that the leaves

626 *Trav. Arch. Series*, I, 7, p. 95.

627 *Trav. Arch. Series*, I, p. 256.

628 Kambar, *Ereḻupadu*, v. 61.

curl over the branches to protect them from the rain, and that they return to their natural position when the rain is over—a surprising fact"![629]

The Spanish Jew, Benjamin, about 1166 adds that the trees were small and that they were planted in the fields which surrounded the towns, and every one knew his plantation well.[630] Marco Polo gives the additional information that the gathering season was the months of May, June and July.[631] Later travellers made a more detailed study of the plant. Ibn Batuta writing in 1340 compares the pepper plant with that of the dark grape. They plant it near that of the cocoanut, and make frame-work for it, just as they do for the grape tree. It has, however, no tendrils, and the tree itself resembles a bunch of grapes. The leaves are like the ears of a horse; but some of them resemble the leaves of a bramble.[632] Marignolli also says, "this pepper grows on a kind of vines, which are planted just like in our vineyards. These vines produce clusters which are

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[629]Al Idrīsī, Elliot, *History*, I, p. 85.

[630]Benjamin, Major, *India*, p. xlvii. In 1293 Marco Polo also observed that the pepper trees were not wild but cultivated, being regularly planted.

As to the cultivation of pepper in regular gardens, it is interesting to note here that in the middle ages, there was an idea prevalent that pepper was grown in a forest. Odoric speaks of the pepper jungle which extended for a good eighteen days journey, and "in that forest, there be two cities, the one whereof is called Flandrina and the other Cyngilin". (Odoric, Yule, *Cathay*, III, p. 133). Marignolli about 1348 has a mild attack directed at Odoric's talk about the pepper forest, (Marignolli, Yule, *Cathay*, III, p. 217). As Yule puts it, apparently the latter (Odoric) did not stay any time in Malabar, and he probably derived his information from harbour gossip—Yule, *Cathay*, II, p. 136 n. 4.

[631]Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 375.

[632]Ibn Batuta (Lee), p. 168.

at first like those of the wild vine, of a green colour, and afterwards are almost like bunches of our grapes".[633] Stefano (1499) and Varthema (1504), agreeing with the previous writers in essence, would prefer to compare it with the ivy. The former says, "The pepper trees are similar to the ivy, because they grow round other trees wherever they can attach themselves; their leaves resemble those of the ivy,"[634] and Varthema, as it were, completes the idea by saying that it embraces and climbs as high as the wood or tree which it can grasp.[635] He further says that the said plant "throws out a great number of branches, which branches are from two to three *palmi* long. The leaves of these branches resemble those of the sour orange, but are more dry, and on the underneath part they are full of minute veins. From each of these branches there grow five, six, and eight clusters a little longer than a man's finger, and they are like small raisins, but more regularly arranged, and are as green as unripe grapes".[636] It is interesting to note that the analogy of the man's finger is applied by Stefano, five years earlier, not to compare the length—for he says that the clusters are of the length of half a palm or more—but to describe its thickness. He says the bunches are 'as slender as a finger'.[637]

The minute attention paid to the study of the crop is apparent from the fact observed by Varthema that

[633] Marignolli, Yule, *Cathay*, III, p. 217. See also Odoric, Yule, *Cathay*, II, pp. 133—36.

[634] Stefano. Major, *India*, p. 4.

[635] Varthema, *Travels*, p. 157.

[636] Ibid.

[637] Stefano, Major, *India*, p. 4.

after the planting stage, it required little attention : ‘These people neither prune nor hoe this tree which produces the pepper’ and they gather the harvest ‘without doing anything else to them’.[638]

The gathering of pepper.

An interesting piece of information regarding the gathering of pepper is supplied by the *Tao i chih lio*,[639] “The pepper gatherers for the most part do not mind its flavour, but if they do, they get relief by using a decoction of *Ch‘ūan-hsiung*”.

Season for harvest.

About the season of harvesting also a fairly correct study was made. Marco Polo’s statement that pepper was gathered in the months of May, June and July does not find support from the other writers who have touched this point. Ibn Batuta definitely states[640] that ‘when the autumn arrives, it is ripe; they then cut it’, and, accepting the difference between the astronomical and the popular application of the term,[641] autumn cannot be carried back earlier than August. Varthema also says[642] that they gathered them in the months of October and November.

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[638] This statement is so correct that a similar description from the pen of a modern writer would seem to be based on it.

"The initial cost of forming a plantation is heavy but the garden is not expensive to keep up........subsequently the garden requires little attention". Innes, *Malabar*, I, pp. 226—27.

[639] 1349 A.D., Referring to Hili *Tao i chih lio*, Rockhill, *Notes*, *T'oung Pao*, XVI, p. 453.

[640] Ibn Batuta (Lee), p. 168.

[641] See Webster, *Dictionary*, s. v. Autumn.

[642] Varthema, *Travels*, p. 157.

The difference between the earlier and the later writers seems hard to explain; but this touches on an important question connected with the pepper trade. For the season of harvesting was connected with the preparation of the product for the foreign market. Two kinds of pepper were in demand, the black and the white. When the fruit was intended for black pepper, it was not allowed to ripen, but was collected *green,* and became black. This is testified to by the clear statement of Varthema[643]: "They gather them in this green state......and then they lay them in the sun on certain mats, and leave them in the sun for three or four days, when they become as black as they are seen amongst us", and Stefano supplements[644] the information by his statement, "it becomes black and wrinkled as we see it", and if we may believe Odoric,[644a] after it was dried, it was also stored in jars, preliminary to export.

That which was intended for white pepper was left to ripen thoroughly till the berries were covered with a red pulp, which, being washed off, left the pepper-corn white and was dried merely to make it fit for the market. Drying also helped according to the *Tao i chih lio*[645] 'to remove its pungent flavour'.

v. *Protection of crops*

There are three points connected with agriculture-protection to crops, agricultural labour, and breeding, which require our further attention. Before we proceed to discuss them we may here dispose of the connected ques-

A preliminary point.

[643]Varthema, *Travels,* p. 157. Stefano would have it 'five or six days', Stefano, Major, *India,* p. 4.

[644]Stefano, Major, *India,* p. 4.

[644a]Odoric, Yule, *Cathay,* II, p. 136.

[645]1349 A.D., *Tao i chih lio,* Rockhill, *Notes, T'oung Pao,* XVI, p. 453.

tion whether an enterprising farmer could go ahead and introduce any innovations. In severally owned villages the rights of individuals over their own property were undoubtedly complete, and in theory they were at liberty to do *what they liked with the land;* but in practice, they would have been unwilling to face the anger with which their neighbours would regard any innovation. In villages where periodical distribution was in vogue, the position was worse. As the whole land of the village was subject to redistribution from time to time, the village had a clear right to prohibit any innovation, for it might ultimately impair the value of the land and thus injure them when the time came for the next redistribution. Initiative and improvement were thus discouraged at every step; many operations were generally conducted in common, and at any time each generally did the same things as the others.

Protection to crops.

Protection to the peasant's crop was a matter vital to the interests of the society. As Kambar put it poetically:

Individual watching.

"Only if farmers watch keenly their ripe corn fields will people strictly watch and adhere to duty, charity, learning, amassing of wealth etc. There will be no poverty in the land and hence no suffering".[646] Here the poet refers to the watching of the crop by individuals particularly at night, so as to protect it from thieves, on the one hand, and wild animals, on the other. There was also the

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[646]Kambar, *Ērelupadu*, v. 50.

possible damage by stray cattle and wanton destruction to be guarded against. Elaborate rules are given in the *Mitākṣarā*,[647] regarding punishment of owners of cattle for damage to crops, and distinctions are drawn as to the amount of damage to be paid in the case of the goat, the sheep, the female buffalo, and of cattle with calves; the cattle which, not content with eating, lie down in the fields with their calves cost more to their owners by way of damages; differentiation is also made between trespass by design, and without design; but in these matters Vijñānēśvara merely follows the traditional rules laid down by Yājñavalkya and has little new to tell us. The essence of the thought is contained in the statement:—as much straw, grain or the like, as is destroyed by cows or other cattle in a particular field, so much produce shall the owner of them be compelled to pay the owner of the field, i.e. according to the valuation determined by the *sāmantas* in this form, "From such land the produce would be so much". In every case, however, the produce was to be made good by the owner of the cattle alone, inasmuch as he participates in the produce of the field by means of the milk obtained from female buffaloes and the like, fed and fattened on the produce of the field.[648]

Damage from stray cattle.

The owner of the cattle, however, incurred only a fine and no corporal punishment; and, moreover, justice was done to the owner of the cattle by having it

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[647] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 159—63.

[648] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 161.

stipulated that the produce such as straw etc., remaining above the quantity consumed by the cows and the like, should be taken by the owner of the cattle alone, since he had purchased such produce by paying the price adjudged by the arbitrators.[649]

Setting fire to a field.

One injunction against those who set fire to a field is also noteworthy as it shows the trend of contemporary thought on the subject: those who set fire to a field in which the fruits and the crops have ripened, or a threshing floor should themselves be surrounded by the *vīraṇa* grass and burnt alive.[650]

Mutual agreements among people.

The desire of the people themselves to give protection to the cultivator and his crops is noteworthy. The residents of [Ten-Pa]nangāḍunāḍu fixed one *mā* of land to be assigned to the temple as a fine for any damage caused to the arable land at Nalvayalūr;[651] during communal fights again, the chief gives the assurance to the headman of a village that the villages under his charge would be protected.[652] Occasionally also the fear of the people that thereby they would be incurring sin was successfully utilized to prevent damage to crops: whoever wishes to injure the crops will incur the sin of committing the five cardinal sins.[653]

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[649] Ibid.
[650] Vijñānēśvarā, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 282.
[651] 373 of 1914; *Inscriptions of the Pudukōṭṭai State*, 176 and 186.
[652] 1263—359 of 1914.
[653] *Nellore Inscriptions*, II, p. 742.

Protection of trees.

The trees which were a means of livelihood were similarly protected. A rather interesting method is noticeable in an inscription from Piṭhāpuram, where it is said that Poṭireḍḍi planted 460,000 palmyra trees; and appended to the inscription is a short essay on the value of the palmyra tree where it is declared to be the root of all *dharma*.[654] Sometimes, however, the king himself stepped in to ensure protection to such trees. Those who felled the living palmyra tree were subject to punishment inflicted under the royal order.[655]

This finds an echo in the rule laid down in the *Mitākṣarā* which sanctions the levy of fine on those who cut off the branches or trunks or uproot entirely the trees which are a means of livelihood.[656]

vi. *Breeding*

Importance of livestock in tillage, transport and irrigation.

Livestock was one of the important forms of wealth. Its importance lay not only as supplying draught animals for agriculture; in an age when the means of communication were comparatively less developed, cattle were also highly useful for what we may term transport purposes: for drawing carts or for carrying loads. Travellers remark on this aspect of the value of livestock; and especially in the upland or undulated regions where wheeled carriage was difficult to use, they undoubtedly supplied

654 *A.R.E.*, 1900, para 67—224 of 1899, Telugu, Piṭhāpuram.

655 246 of 1906.

656 Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 227.

a felt need.[657] They were also employed in other kinds of work such as lifting water from the wells,[658] and in oil mills.[659] In addition to such services, some of them

Other uses.

also supplied certain valuable food products, particularly milk; cows and bulls were also highly valued gifts both to temples and

As gifts.

priests.[660] The .great merit of cows being given away as gifts is praised in inscriptions, and in the *Mitākṣarā* we read the following:—[661]

> Covered with cloth and accompanied by a vessel of bell metal, a cow yielding a large quantity of milk should be given together with a present of money according to one's means. The giver of such a cow resides in heaven for as many years as are "measured by hairs" or are equal to the number of hairs on her body. If such a cow be *kapilā* she not only saves the giver, but also his family "up to the seventh degree", i.e. extending over seven persons, viz. six ancestors, father, grandfather, etc., and himself the seventh.

That the importance of livestock as a form of economic wealth was realised may be inferred from the

Breeding bulls reared.

rearing of breeding bulls. Mādhavācārya[662] defines *vṛṣa* as bulls kept for

[657] Barbosa, *An Account*, I, p. 200.

[658] 218 of 1926—*ēttam*; for *kapile*, see Chandrasekhara Sastri, *Economic Conditions*, *H.M.U.J.*, II, p. 204.

[659] *ettugāṇa*=mills in which bullocks were used. *Ep. Car.*, V, Arsikere 172, see p. 425.

[660] 250 of 1905.

[661] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, i, 204 and 205.

[662] Mādhavācarya, op. cit., III, p. 268.

impregnation. The *Mitākṣarā*[663] defines *mahōkṣa* as a sprinkler of seed, a bull specially reared for impregnation. The *Mitākṣarā* also in speaking of *vārtā*,[664] the science of wealth, includes in its scope, any occupation or accomplishment that had an economic value; the rules of *vārtā* include rules of agriculture, trade and the rearing of livestock which are the means of increase of one's wealth.

Maintenance of pasture land.

The care given to the maintenance of pasture is additional evidence. We have seen[665] that provision was generally made for the maintenance of pasture in villages.[666] Besides it may be said that, in the middle ages, there was more waste land available for grazing. Villagers also co-operated in the preservation of pasture grounds. The agreements recorded in regard to pasture lands testify to this. Besides co-operating to maintain the communal pasture lands it appears also probable that, in some districts,[667] e.g. Nellore, the ryots set apart portions of their holdings as private pasture ground for their cattle. The value attached to livestock may be seen from the fact that the state was able to realise a substantial sum as revenue by a tax on the pasture land, technically called the *pullari* (grass-

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[663] Vijñānēśvara, op. cit., ii, 163.

[664] Vijñānēśvara, op. cit., i, 311; See *Ind. Ant.*, XLVII, p. 238.

[665] supra, p. 88.

[666] Vijnānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 166 and 167.

[667] We are told that in the Nellore district of the Madras Presidency, even today the ryots set apart portions of their holdings as private pasture ground for their cattle, Raghaviah, *Economic Organisation*, p. 40.

tax).[668] There were also other taxes on cows, oxen, buffaloes and sheep.

Protection to livestock.

Livestock, like crops, had to be protected. Raids on cattle are a familiar feature in the inscriptions, and it is refreshing to note that villagers were prepared to lay down their life in defending the livestock. The grateful company of villagers invariably showed their appreciation of the heroism of their gallant comrades by erecting stones in their memory and by alienating lands to their heirs.

Special provision was also made, according to the *Mitākṣarā,* to protect breeding bulls from wanton attack. One who destroyed the virility or procreative power of the bull was to be fined 100 *paṇa.*[669]

A *mahōkṣa,* defined as a sprinkler of seed, i.e., a bull specially reared for impregnation was also exempted from punishment even if he trespassed into others' fields.[670]

Local aspects.

Coming to the local aspects of the uses made of livestock and their distribution, it is fairly clear that oxen were everywhere used for ploughing.[671] Barbosa also tells us that in the kingdom of Narsynga, there were many small ponies, asses and oxen, all of which they used as beasts of burden and for ploughing.[672]

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[668] *Nellore Inscriptions,* II, p. 525, Kandukūr 26, dated 1258-59 A.D.

[669] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā,* ii, 236; see also 225 and 226.

[670] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā,* ii, 163.

[671] Barbosa, *An Account,* I, pp. 166 and 192—Oxen in pairs.

[672] Barbosa, *An Account,* I, p. 200.

The cow and the ox were not generally killed for flesh. John of Montecorvino and Odoric tell us :[673] "All the people of this country worship the ox for their god (and they eat not his flesh) ;[674] for they say that he is, as it were, a sacred creature. Six years they make him to work for them, and the seventh year they give him rest from all labour, and turn him out in some appointed public place, declaring him thenceforward to be a consecrated animal."[675] The evidence of Mahuan[676] is to the same effect: "Their domestic cattle do not weigh over three to four hundred *catties;* their flesh is not eaten, but they use milk and butter which they are continually drinking and eating."

Buffaloes were, in addition, used in Malabar.[677] As beasts of burden, goats, sheep, ponies, asses and oxen were employed in the Vijayanagar kingdom.[678]

As to the places of breeding, the combined testimony of Paes, Nuniz, Varthema and Barbosa shows that the Dekhan plains with their vast stretches of waste land were eminently suited for breeding; Ma'bar and Malabar were, generally, speaking, poor in

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[673] John of Montecorvino, Yule, *Cathay*, III, p. 62. Odoric, Yule, *Cathay*, II, p. 137.

[674] Exceptions to this are no doubt found. Varthema, e.g. says (*Travels*, pp. 121 and 122), that in Centacola (identified with Uncola in North Canara) and in Onor, a good deal of beef is met with—this only shows that in cities which had a good number of Moorish merchants, cows were also used for the flesh.

[675] Such consecrated bulls (*utsṛṣṭa-paśavaḥ*) had certain privileges. They were to be set free even if they trespassed in others' fields—Vijñāneśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 163.

[676] *Ying yai shêng lan*, Rockhill, *Notes*, *T'oung Pao*, XVI, p. 460.

[677] Barbosa, *An Account*, II, p. 68.

[678] Barbosa, *An Account*, I, p. 200.

this respect,[679] though Sernigi would have it:[680] "There are cows and oxen. They are small but yield much milk and butter". Good cows and oxen were bred around Dabul and Rosyl, and in Vimgapor, which is described as rich in seed-plots and cattle-breeding farms.[681] The oxen of Thāna are described as "very fine"[682] which "have horns a good half pace in length (girth ?), and have a hump on the back like a camel",[683] and there were red cows in Onor.[684]

Sheep and goats in the Vijayanagar kingdom were so large that they were bridled and saddled;[685] they were also bred in Bathecala,[686] Kōlār, and Coromandel,[687] Calicut, Onor and Rosyl (near Goa).[688] The largest sheep are described as being those of Telingāna.[689] Buffaloes were found in Vijayanagar, Bathe-

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679 John of Montecorvino, Yule, *Cathay*, III, p. 61. Barbosa, *An Account*, II, pp. 64 and 65.

680 Vasco Da Gama, *The First Voyage*, p. 132. Indeed Malabar even now has a poor breed of cattle; the explanation seems to lie mainly in its wet climate.

681 Varthema, *Travels*, pp. 114, 120, 122. Barbosa, *An Account*, I, pp. 166 and 200, Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 386—Vimgapor was part of the kingdom of Vijayanagar.

Cows of good quality were also found in the Kōlār district of Mysore—Nuniz, op. cit., p. 386.

682 Odoric, Yule, *Cathay*, II, p. 117.

683 ibid.

684 Varthema, *Travels*, p. 122.

685 1520, Paes, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 259. See also Barbosa, *An Account*, I, p. 200.

686 Varthema, *Travels*, p. 120.

687 Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., p. 386, Chau Ju-Kua, *Chu-fan-chi*, p. 96.

688 Varthema, *Travels*, pp. 122, 172. Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., p. 386.

689 Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 361; for mention of goats, see Jordanus, *Wonders*, p. 40.

cala, Calicut, Mysore and Telingāna,[690] and asses and ponies in the kingdom of Vijayanagar.[691]

vii. *Yield of Land*

An estimate of the income from land involves an approximate estimate of the cost of cultivation and the yield per acre. Both these varied so much according to the quality of land and the nature of crop cultivated in it that a few examples taken from scattered areas will not be helpful in arriving at a true conclusion. These differences were, as they are now, vital: in Chingleput the outturn varies in dry land from 600 to 100 Madras measures an acre and in wet from 850 to 160 Madras measures according to the class of the land and the government kist ranges from Rs. 6 to 2 annas in the former and from Rs. 8-4-0 to 6 annas in the latter.[692]

Variety of conditions.

Such differences are also noticeable in recorded inscriptions.[693] But with such varying conditions, and insufficient data it is difficult to make any

690 Paes, Sewell, op. cit., p. 259. Varthema, *Travels*, pp. 120, 172, and Jordanus, *Wonders*, p. 40.

691 Barbosa, *An Account*, I, p. 200.

692 Crole, *Chingleput*, p. 52. See also Hemingway, *Tanjore*, p. 187.

693 At the present time when the texts of many inscriptions have not been published, the data needed for a more detailed study are lacking; we content ourselves with citing a few for the eleventh century.

Date.	District.	Per *vēli*.	Evidence.
1011	Tanjore ...	100 *kalam* ...	*South Indian Inscr.*, II, 66.
1044	Do. ...	92 " ...	*Arch. Surv. Southern India*, IV, p. 219.
1073	Chingleput ...	35 " ...	183 of 1912, *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 33.

generalisation regarding the average yield of land in the middle ages. We may, however, note one piece of evidence[694] which may be taken as an approximation to truth. In the commentary of Mādhavācārya on the text of Parāśara in which the assessment of the land and the conversion of the grain revenue into money are elaborately dealt with, he assumes that the average outturn was 12 times the seed sown; that the assumption was based on the conditions obtaining in the period may be gauged from the fact that Harihara, the King of Vijayanagar, made a new assessment of Canara (1334-1347) on the principle laid down by Mādhavācārya, reckoning the produce to the seed as 12 to 1, or in the words of Munro, "he reckoned that 2½ *kattis* of seed yielded 30 *kattis* of paddy".

Generalisation difficult to make.

One valuable piece of evidence.

viii. *Agricultural Labour*

Perhaps there is no aspect of the system of agriculture in the middle ages which suffers so much from the want of evidence and on which we would fain have more light thrown as agricultural labour. The modern economist is interested in having some light on the efficiency of agricultural labour in its various stages, and the wages paid, but the evidence which has come down to us does not warrant our pursuing such a line of enquiry. We have, on the other hand, some evidence of the kind of labour employed, hired or slave, and how it was utilised.

Paucity of evidence.

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694 Sturrock, *South Canara*, I, p. 95. Munro, *Minutes*, I, p. 63.

A perusal of the available evidence leaves the impression that the bulk of agricultural operations was carried on by the small peasant farmer who owned and managed his land or by the small tenant who held of a landlord. The peasant cultivator or the small tenant generally did much of the work himself; it is of course possible that even he, for particular agricultural operations, employed hired labour, for it is one of the features of rural life that the demand for agricultural labour is never uniform throughout the year, but varies with the seasons.

Hired Labour.

The employment of hired labour, occasional with such cultivating castes, became habitual—a matter of necessity—when a non-cultivating caste like the Brahmans or institutions like temples and *maṭhas* were the landlords, farming their lands instead of leasing it to a tenant.

There can therefore be no doubt that hired labour was known in the middle ages.

The following passages from the *Mitākṣarā* appear to me to be conclusive:—

In introducing the section on breach of contract of service, it says,[605] "A hired servant (as referred to) here is of three sorts. So it has been laid down: here, the highest class is that of a soldier, the agriculturist is the middle class, and the porters are the lowest class. These are the three classes of hired servants."

Again one, by whom the wages had been received, if he abandons, i.e., does not perform, the work which he

[605] Vijñāneśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 182.

had undertaken, should pay twice the amount of wages to the owner. When, however, he abandons a task which he had agreed to do, when he had not received any wages, then he should be made to pay an amount equal to what was fixed as wages, and not more. Vijñānēśvara quotes with approval the text from Nārada, "Let the master, for whom work is performed, pay wages to the servant hired (by him) according to their agreement, at the beginning, at the middle or at the end, as may have been settled between them"; and he himself adds, "The servants also must preserve to the best of their ability implements of husbandry, such as the hide and the rope of the plough and like others: otherwise there would not be any ploughing".[696]

Regarding the wages of such hired servants, he says, "That master, a grocer, an owner of cows or an agriculturist, who, even without clearly settling the wages, causes work to be done by a hired servant, whatever (profits) may be obtained from that work, i.e., from the trade, cattle or agriculture, the tenth portion of that should be caused to be paid to the hired servant".[697]

This passage would appear to show two things:—

i. That hired labour in agriculture, extending at least to the agricultural season, was well-known; for the wages of the hired servant are calculated on the net income; this must be presumed to refer to the net income or produce of a season's operations.

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[696] Vijñānēśvara, *Mitākśarā*, ii, 193.

[697] Vijñānēśvara, op. cit., ii, 194.

ii. That the wages were normally expected to approximate to one-tenth of the net produce.

The expression *kaivinaikkuḍi*[698] in contrast with *uḻavukuḍi* shows that daily labourers were also in evidence.

While thus hired labour undoubtedly existed, there is also evidence to show that at least in some localities

Slave labour.

slave labour was also utilised. This is gathered from two kinds of evidence: contemporary inscriptions point to the fact that there were slaves attached to the land which they cultivated. They were sold along with the land sold,[699] or given away as gift.[700] An inscription of 1196 A.D. says the expenses were to be met out of the land, as well as from the labour of the slaves thereunto attached, i.e., to the land.[701] Sometimes they are called *uḻappaṟaiyar*.[702] The Canarese inscriptions also speak of 'bond servants,' possibly *attached to the land*.[703]

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698 *South Ind. Inscr.*, V, 257, dated 1441 A.D. (581 of 1893).

699 1184 A.D. 113 of 1927, from Tirumangalam, Tanjore, *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 29.

700 *Trav. Arch. Series*, I, 2.

701 *Ind. Ant.*, XXIV, p. 284, 1196 A.D., 1298 A.D., 90 and 91 of 1926, *A.R.E.*, 1926, part ii, para 28.

Commenting on this the epigraphist says that the disposal of serfs was common enough in those days, and the transfer of land from one owner to another very often stipulated also the transfer of the labourers employed therein. This can be seen, he argues, from such expressions as *kuḍi-niṅgādēvadāna*, *kuḍiniṅgā-iṟaiyili*. While agreeing that the transfer of slaves was common—as can be seen from other evidence, (see para above), it is difficult to connect this fact with the expression *kuḍi*—for *kuḍi* does not seem to connote a 'slave'.

702 *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5, para 12.

703 1231 A.D., *besa-vaga*, *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sorab 221, 253—(1141 A.D.),—255—1158 A.D.

1905 A.D., *besa-makkaḷu*, *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sāgar 87; *Paṟaiya* cultivators, *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 5—*Uḻappaṟaiyar*.

Statements of travellers also confirm the evidence: Barbosa says: "The more part of them (the Thiyas) are slaves bound to the lands of the Nāyres to whom they are assigned by the king that they may live and support themselves by the labour of these men;"[704] the Betunes "are slaves of the *kings* and *Nāyres* and pass their lives in poverty".[705] And Sir T. Madhava Rao found that predial slavery existed in Travancore till June 1855, when it was abolished.[706]

Economic condition of slaves.

In speaking of agricultural serfdom, however, we have to be cautious lest we should apply foreign conceptions of slavery to conditions which obtained here in the middle ages. The commonly accepted conception of a slave is that of a person absolutely rightless, the chattel of his owner, devoid of all legal status or possessions of his own—owning neither land nor property—of any kind and in complete subjection to his master by whom he is maintained and housed and who can be put indifferently to rural, industrial, or household work, and be sold, or otherwise disposed of at his owner's pleasure.[707] The slave of the middle ages when he was connected with agriculture was a territorial slave attached to the land. These slaves were not ordinarily molested or moved, whoever might be the nominal owner; they were safe in their insignificance and continued to

[704] Barbosa, *An Account*, II, p. 60.

[705] Barbosa, op. cit., II. p. 65.

[706] Sir T. Madhava Rao, in a report, quoted by Nagam Aiya, *Travancore*, III, p. 119.

[707] cf. Lipson, *Economic History*, pp. 40—41.

till the ground their ancestors had tilled before them. "They got a house and yard free, also certain dues in grain. . .; . . . ., and presents in clothes, grain and money, at stated festivals".[708]

Slavery was therefore apparently not a very hard bondage. Barbosa says,[709] "the Nāyres protect and cherish them" (slaves bound to their land). We are also told that land might descend to children of female slaves[710] and, according to Vijñānēśvara, if a slave rescued his master from imminent danger, he should be allowed to have the share of a son.[711]

(4) LAND VALUE

The place of land in mediaeval economy—Had land sale value?—Price of land.

The place of land in mediaeval economy.

Throughout the middle ages, land and its products were the most important source of wealth and by far the largest part of the population was engaged in cultivating the soil regularly. Almost every form of service was requited by a grant of land. In the records which have come down to us dealing with the foundation of villages we have mention of the several units of service that made up the village economy, and the village officers and servants who were put in charge of such services and rewarded by grants of land. Inscriptions[712]

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[708]Baden-Powell, *Land-Systems*, III, pp. 121-22.

[709]Barbosa, *An Account*, II, p. 60.

[710] 1140 A.D. *Ep. Car.*, V, Bēlūr 219.
1297 A.D. *Ep. Car.*, I, Coorg, 59.

[711]Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 182.

[712]*A.R.E.*, 1913, part i, para 11, 1914 part ii, para 18, 94 of 1917.

record the foundation of villages and allotments of permanent holdings to the several village officers and servants including the headman, the accountant, the priest, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the goldsmith, the village police, the potter, the washerman, the barber, and the field-watch. Other inscriptions[713] add those of the teachers of grammar, *Mīmāmsā, Vēdānta, Ṛgvēda, Yajurvēda* and *Sāmavēda*, the expounder of the *Rūpāvatāra*, the teacher of the *Purāṇas*, the physician, the astrologer, the village watchman (*pāḍi-kāppān*) and the village servant (*veṭṭiyān*).[714] Besides the services for the village, there were services in temples which were also paid in land. The dancing girl, the dancing master, the drummer, the singer, the conchman, the trumpeter, the decorator, the garland-maker, the torch-bearer and a host of others employed in temples as well as other servants employed in charitable institutions like the *maṭhas* enjoyed what we may term service *ināms*. In addition to service *ināms*, there were also beneficial *ināms*, given with no expectation of material services done in return, but with the object of securing religious merit, such gifts being specially commended in the Hindu *dharmaśāstras* and commentaries on them.[715]

The part that land played in the economy of the time extended to other spheres as well. An inscription from Tiruvāmāttūr, South Arcot district, records an agreement by Kōvan stating that, in return for the

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[713] *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 70 ff.

[714] 277 of 1913, *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 18.

[715] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, i, 210; supra, p. 26.

enjoyment of certain lands, he would help only Rāja Rāja-Śambuvarāyar, and none other, in times of need.[716] Another[717] shows that land was a form of reserve wealth which might be sold, in times of emergency, to provide for marriage expenses. Land was itself given as dowry in other cases;[718] land was given in lieu of *guru-dakṣiṇā;*[719] it was pledged or sold to the creditor himself in payment of debts;[720] it was sold to raise money to pay penalties imposed on persons.[721] Some members of the village assembly of Punnaivāyil sold by public auction 80 *vēli* of land in Kaḷattūr for 200 *kāśu* in order to clear the revenue arrears.[722] The king could order the lands of those villagers who had not paid their revenue arrears to be sold.[723] Again lands were purchased to endow hospitals[724] or charitable institutions like *maṭhas.*[725]

Had land sale value?

Land thus played a large part in the economy of the middle ages. But had land sale value? This is a question of fact rather than theory. We have noted above a number of instances where lands were sold for various purposes; other instances are given below. In the face of this,

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[716] 56 of 1922.

[717] 395 of 1906.

[718] *Ep. Car.*, IX, Hoskote 108 and 109, 1379 A.D.

[719] 47 of 1924.

[720] *Ṛṇanirṇayavāgi*, Chandrasekhara Sastri, *Hoysala Administration, H.M.U.J.*, III, p. 121.

[721] 277 of 1917.

[722] 202 of 1912, *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 39.

[723] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 9.

[724] 248 of 1923.

[725] *Ep. Car.*, III, Seringapatam 89.

it is difficult to agree with Baden-Powell, when he says: —

"(under Hindu Governments) in the Dekhan and in the South, the raiyat was not allowed to sell his land; indeed it may be questioned whether as a rule it had any market value".[726]

Not only were lands sold, but it is interesting to note that more than one method besides the usual way of expressing the price for so many units of land was in vogue to express land values. One method was to express the value of land in relation to the sowing capacity of the lands;[727] another was in terms of the annual rental value of the land,[728] a third in terms of the yield calculated in money,[729] and a fourth was in terms of the tax-paying capacity of the land.[730]

It is permissible to infer that land must have commanded a sale value when not only the fact of sale is recorded, but several methods had been developed to express such values. One more piece of evidence, of a somewhat different kind, leads us to the same conclusion. This is furnished by a few inscriptions dealing with reclamation. A record [731] from Ramnad dated the 5th year of Jaṭāvarman Parākrama-Pāṇḍyadēva states a certain piece of land at Nāmanūr, purchased for 40 (coins?) was reclaimed from its waste condition and another record,[732] four years later,

[726] Baden Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, p. 424.

[727] 1220, *A.R.M.*, 1924, p. 37, No. 26.

[728] 1368 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, VII, Shikārpur 282.

[729] 1458 A.D.—*Ep. Car.*, III, Seringapatam 89.

[730] *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 301.

[731] 15 of 1924, *A.R.E.*, 1924, part ii, para 38.

[732] 16 of 1924, *A.R.E.*, 1924, part ii, para 38.

registers the subsequent sale of the same for more than ten times its original value evidently owing to the improvements effected on the lands within the four years.

Price of land.

The determination of the actual value of land is, however, beset with certain difficulties which may be stated briefly. Appendix ii gives a list of available prices of land; it will be noticed that the evidence covers a wide range of space and time; it means inadequate evidence for making any general statement regarding the price of land in a particular place at any particular time. Again some inscriptions specify prices in relation to *kāśu*, which as a gold coin was equivalent to anything between 5 and 156 gr. of gold, and as a copper coin was equivalent to one pie. Leaving these aside, we have about eleven instances which may be used with confidence to ascertain the value of land.

From them we may learn[733] that one acre of land was valued as follows:—

						£.	s.	d.
No.	1.	962 A.D.	Tanjore	..		14	5	0
,,	4.	999 A.D.	N. Arcot	..		2	0	4
,,	5.	999 A.D.	Tanjore	..		10	3	8
,,	22.	1094 A.D.	Tanjore	..		2	13	9
,,	30.	1133 A.D.	Trichy	..		1	2	4
,,	42.	1203 A.D.	Coimbatore	..		8	1	4

[733] 1 *vēli* in Tanjore=2000 *kuḷi*, 6 acres.
1 *kuḷi* in Tanjore=2|605 acre.
mā in Tanjore=1|20 of a *vēli*.
1 *kuḷi* in Chingleput=8|605 acre.
1 *kaḷañju*=4|9 of a sovereign.
paṇam=1|10 of a *kaḷañju*, infra, Ch. VI, section 4.

					£.	s.	d.
No.	52.	1261 A.D.	Chingleput	..	13	8	11
„	56.	1339 A.D.	Velur	..	5	14	5
„	61.	1427 A.D.	Chingleput	..	2	3	8
„	62.	1429 A.D.	Chingleput	..	1	1	0
„	63.	1456 A.D.	Chingleput	..	2	0	4

The wide variations in value can be explained only when we know the quality of land to which it refers. In this respect, one inscription from Aragal, Salem district, is more satisfactory than the rest. It registers an order of Vāṇakōvaraiyaṉ that wet and dry lands in different villages were to be purchased as *vīramāgadapperuvilai,* the former at 6 *kāśu* for one *kuḻi* and the latter at 2 *kāśu* for one *kuḻi*; wet and dry lands in Salem in the twelfth century may approximately be taken to have been priced in the ratio of 3:1.[734]

Again, to compare these prices with modern prices we shall have to allow for the variation in the purchasing power—an uncertain factor. Hence we see that this method of arriving at the actual land values has to be adopted with caution.[735]

Another possible method of estimating land values, is when we have data regarding the yield, price of grain, and the rate of interest, which will enable us to calculate the capitalised value of land, but that too is not feasible with the evidence we have.

[734]446 of 1913; for the date of this inscription cf. nos. 440 and 447 of 1913, which would place this inscription approximately in the twelfth century.

[735]In passing it may be of some interest to know that the price of an acre of land in the Tanjore District was Rs. 12 in 1823-24 and Rs. 39 in 1852-53. Venkasami Row, *Tanjore*, p. 323.

A more reliable mode of estimating land values is furnished by those inscriptions which express value in relation to the annual rent or yield, and if they may be taken as representative of the period with which they deal, we may say that in the fourteenth century, in the Shimoga district, land was normally sold for 5 times the value of the annual rent,[736] and that in the Mysore District in the fifteenth century the price of land was ten times its yield (gross).[737] It is interesting to compare these rates with those in mediaeval England. According to Rogers, in England in the thirteenth century, land yielding a rent of 6d. an acre was worth about 7s. an acre,[738] and in the middle of the fifteenth century it was valued at 20 years purchase.

(5) VILLAGE SERVANTS

Introductory: necessity for village organisation—Our data—No uniformity: differences in number of servants, work done, and remuneration paid—Officers common to most villages—Their functions—Wilks's classic account—The *Āyagāṛas*—The position of the doctor—Some details: officers, artisans, servants—Other servants mentioned—Remuneration—Land, *mīras*—'Direct' payment; its advantage—Attachment to the village—Services expected of servants.

Introductory: necessity for village organisation.

In the days when communications were not well developed it would have been difficult for the residents of a village to supply the simple wants of daily life or get the necessary agricultural implements or pottery, etc., without going perhaps long distances to a town. Each village, therefore,

[736] *Ep. Car.*, VII, Shikārpur 282—1368 A.D.

[737] 1458 A.D.—*Ep. Car.*, III, Seringapatam 89.

[738] Rogers, *Six Centuries*, pp. 72—73 and p. 288.

attached to itself a staff of artisans, mentals and servants who were hereditary and served the village not for payment by the job, but for a remuneration in cash and grain, paid at each harvest, or by means of a grant of land. Where the villages were small, the same artisan would serve two or more of them, taking the remuneration in each.

Our data.

The accounts which have come down to us of the foundations of villages are our main data for reconstructing the internal organization of the village in its economic aspect. They supply us details of the names of the village servants attached to the village and the remuneration allowed to them.

No uniformity: differences in number of servants, work done, and remuneration paid.

A perusal of several inscriptions from Anantapur,[739] Krishna,[740] Guntur,[741] S. Arcot,[742] Nellore,[743] Chittoor,[744] and Tinnevelly[745] districts makes it clear that the village economy of South India in the middle ages was not uniform throughout the area. The number and character of village servants employed in villages, and the remuneration paid differed according to the local necessities and environment. It was not necessary, too, that

[739] 1171, 1178, 1187 Anantapur, *A.R.E.*, 1921, Appendix A, copper-plates 6, 5, and 8—forgery?

[740] 1213 Krishna, *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 142-50.

[741] 1261 A.D., Guntur, 94 of 1917, *A.R.E.*, 1917, paras 34—38.

[742] 1289 S. Arcot, *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 18, 1260 S. Arcot, 1296 A.D., S. Arcot, 104 of 1918.

[743] *Nellore Inscriptions*, I, p. 334—1310-11, Darsi 35.

[744] 1361 A.D.—Chittoor, *A.R.E.*, 1913, Appendix A, copper plate 14.

[745] 1474 Tinnevelly, 565 and 568 of 1917.

a village should have its full complement of village officers from its first foundation, for we find royal grants to such servants willing to take up service in already established villages;[746] it is likely that villages which were mere hamlets at one time began, with the growth of population, to require separate whole time artisans for themselves, whereas before, two small hamlets were satisfied with the services of one set.

Officers common to most villages.

But a certain number was fairly common. Under this head we may include the headman,[747] the accountant, the blacksmith, the carpenter, the potter, the washerman, the barber, the *talāri* and the *veṭṭiyān;* the *purōhit,* the astrologer, the doctor, and the goldsmith were not so common.

Their functions.

It must be remarked that while we come across these names, we rarely get a detailed description of the duties that each had to do in the village, inscriptions being content to leave the subject merely stating that each functionary would do his 'proper duty'[748] and "live in peace"; but we may well believe that there had not been essential changes in their duties when the *Fifth Report* described them or even later when Colonel Wilks gave his classic account in his "*Historical Sketches*".

Wilks's classic account.

"Every Indian village is, and appears always to have been, in fact, a separate community or republic; ....1. the Gouḍ, Potail (headman) is the judge and magistrate; 2. the Curnum, Shanboag.....is the register;

[746] 405 of 1925.

[747] For references, supra, p. 265.

[748] *Ep Ind.*, V, pp. 142—50.

3. the Taliary or Sthulwar, and 4. the Tōtie are severally the watchmen of the village and of the crops; 5. the Neerguntee distributes the water of the streams or reservoirs in just proportion to the several fields; 6. the Jotishee, or Joshee or astrologer, performs the essential service of announcing the seasons of seed time and harvest, and the imaginary benefit of unfolding the lucky or unlucky days and hours for all the operations of farming; 7. the smith, and 8. carpenter, frame the rude instruments of husbandry, and the ruder dwelling of the farmer; 9. the potter fabricates the only utensils of the village; 10. the washerman keeps clean the few garments which are spun, and sometimes woven, in the family of the farmer, or purchased at the nearest market; 11. the barber contributes to the cleanliness, and assists in the toilet of the villagers; 12. the silver-smith, marking the approach of luxury, manufactures the simple ornaments with which they delight to bedeck their wives and their daughters: and these twelve officers (Barra bullowutee, or Āyangadee), or requisite members of the community, receive the compensation of their labour, either in allotments of land from the corporate stock, or in fees, consisting of fixed proportions of the crop of every farmer in the village".[749]

Two points in Wilks's account deserve mention.

The *Ayagāṛas*.

The term of Āyangadee is indicated in our inscriptions by other terms: '*āyagāṛas*',[750] *kāṇachi gāras, paṇimakkaḷ*,[750a] or *grāma-parikara*.[751]

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[749] Wilks, *Historical Sketches*, I, pp. 73—74.
cf. account in *The Fifth Report*, II, p. 13.

[750] *Ep. Car.*, XII, Maddagiri 74, Sira 41, 1308 A.D., *A.R.E.*, 1917, copper-plate 17.

[750a] *A.R.E.*, 1917, copper-plate 18, 277 of 1913.

[751] 277 of 1913, *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 18.

Secondly this list does not include the doctor, who figures as one of the village servants in the Chēbrōlu inscription of General Jaya of 1213 A.D. in the Krishna district; in the Cidambaram inscription of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I, two doctors are provided for, and even as late as 1812, the doctor is mentioned as one of the regular functionaries in a Madras village.[751a]

The position of the doctor.

It is unnecessary to go in greater detail into the functions of the village servants. It is noteworthy, however, that they fall into 3 kinds:

Some details: Officers, artisans and servants.

(a) Officers: headman, accountant;

(b) artisans: blacksmith, carpenter, potter;

(c) Others: washerman, barber, *tōṭi* or *veṭṭiyān*, *talāri*, etc.

While all no doubt served the village, the essential difference in the nature of the services performed by them should not be forgotten. We do not propose to give a detailed description of the duties of the officers, it being more relevant to a work on administration; the artisans are treated at length in the section on village industries;[752] here we may note a few details connected with the village servants proper. The *kāval*, the village watchman, whose duty it was to watch the bounds of the village, crops, sticks, heaps of grain, hay, and other property of the inhabitants in the village was

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[751a] *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 142—50, 277 of 1913, *ARE.*, 1914, part ii, para 18, See also 18 of 1922, *South Ind. Inscr.*, I, p. 91, *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 4, para 3, *The Fifth Report*, II, p. 13.

[752] infra, ch. IV.

held answerable for thefts committed on the heaps of the village and for such of the property of the inhabitants as was stolen by night, and so inscriptions state, "that they were given additional grants of land inasmuch as they had to make good the loss of any property within the limits of the village boundary".[753] The barber attended all marriages and funerals of the cultivators, as well. The *veṭṭiyān* was employed in measuring all the heaps of grain and carrying letters and money. He also burned the dead and did odd jobs of various kinds.[754]

Other servants mentioned.

While these then were the usual complement of village servants our inscriptions specify others who were apparently found only in particular villages according to the necessities of the village. Among them we may mention the mason,[755] the architect,[756] the copper-smith,[757] the cash-keeper,[758] the guard of the field,[759] the *sikāri*,[760] the poison doctor,[761] the bamboo worker,[762] and the sesamum-grinder.[763] The names are an indication of the functions; only, the *sikāri*, also called *kirāta* and *yēnāḍi* deserves notice. He had the duty of scaring

753 *A.R.E.*, 1913, Appendix A, copper-plate 9, part i, para 11.

754 Ramaswamy Naidu, *Revenue System*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1834, p. 299.

755 94 of 1917, *A.R.E.*, 1917, part ii, para 34.

756 ibid.

757 ibid.

758 *Sarābu*, *A.R.E.*, 1921, part ii, para 79.

759 *Bārika*, *A.R.E.*, 1921, part ii, para 79.

760 *A.R.E.*, 1921, part ii, para 79.

761 *Ep. Ind.* V, p. 96.

762 *A.R.E.*, 1917, part ii, para 34.

763 *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 109 (1269).

away or destroying the wild beasts that might molest the village and its crops.

Of a somewhat different character are the officers who find mention only in Brahman villages: those who expounded grammar, *Mīmāmsā, Vēdānta,* teachers of *Ṛgvēda, Yajurvēda, Sāmavēda,* the expounder of the *Rūpāvatāra* and the reciter of the *Purāṇas.*[764] There are others connected with duties in temples who are sometimes included in the list of village servants. Under this head are the dancing girl, the doorkeeper, the dancing master, the drummer, the singer, the conchman, the trumpet decorator, the garland maker and the torch-bearer.[765] Though they were in intimate touch with the village, they must be classed as officers connected with the temple—they were under the control of the temple authorities—and cannot be technically reckoned as village servants.

Whether there were also common weavers maintained out of the village funds is a doubtful point. An inscription of Rājarāja dated 993 A.D. refers to the *anniyāyavāvadaṇḍaviṟai*[766] of which the second word suggests authorised looms in every village. In the earlier Pallava times,[767] the looms are included among the property owned by the village in common. It would thus appear that a fixed number of looms were worked for the common benefit of the whole village by

[764] *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 96.

[765] 1213 A.D.—*Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 142—50.
1289 A.D.—*A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 18, 277 of 1913.

[766] *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 137—38.

[767] Kūram plates of Paramēśvaravarman I, *South Ind. Inscr.*, I, p. 155.

the weavers who were probably maintained out of the village funds.[768]

Regarding the mode of payment, Altekar says, "unfortunately our inscriptions supply us with no direct evidence on the point, but it would be hardly reasonable to expect land grants and village grants to reveal the mode of payment existing between the villagers and the village servants."[769] This statement made with reference to village communities in Western India is due to the paucity of the inscriptions dealing with the original establishment of villages, in that part of the country. We have many such from South India, giving details of such remuneration paid.

Remuneration.

This remuneration usually consisted not in payment by job for services rendered, but either in allotments of land from the common property, or in fees consisting of fixed proportions of the crop of every farmer in the village called *mēras*, or both. In Canarese inscriptions this customary mode of annual payment was called *āya*—the grain to be given to the hereditary village servants[770] from the term *Āyagāṛa*, applied to the servants.[771] Each was also given a house-site in the village. The land on which the village servants subsisted[772] varied in extent from place to place; a few examples may be cited.[773]

Land, *mēras*.

[768] *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 137—38—993 A.D. *cf.* Matthai, *Village Government*, p. 17 n. 1.

[769] Altekar, *Village Communities*, p. 93.

[770] *Ep. Car.*, III, p. 108, Nanjanguḍ 131, 1077 A.D.

[771] *Ep. Car.*, XII Sira 41.

[772] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 22.

[773] *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 18.

Doctor	7/8 *vēli*	5.81 acres
Village watchman	6/8 „	4.98 „
Ambadaya	4/8 „	3.32 „
Village accountant.	4/8 „	3.32 „
Carpenter	4/8 „	3.32 „
Barber	3/8 „	2.49 „
Īrankolli	3/8 „	2.49 „
Potter	2/8 „	1.66 „
Blacksmith	2/8 „	1.66 „
Goldsmith	2/8 „	1.66 „
Washerman	2/8 „	1.66 „
Veṭṭiyān	1/8 „	0.83 „

In another instance[774] the lands given to the physician, the barber, the poison-doctor, and the astrologer are of equal proportions, viz., 1 share.

But though this differed between areas and between servants it must have ordinarily sufficed to maintain the person concerned according to his status in society.[775]. The *mēras* paid similarly differed. An inscription[776] gives it at 1 *tūm* on every heap of grain; in another of 1284 the gardener is allowed 1 *tūm*, grass-cutter ½ and the potter ½.[777]

'Direct' payment; its advantage.

The method of paying these *mēras* to the village servants is noteworthy. For a long time, they appear to have been paid directly by the ryots to the servants.[778]

[774] *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 96.
[775] infra, ch. VIII.
[776] *Nellore Inscriptions*, I, p. 334—1310-11, Darsi 35.
[777] For amounts paid in modern times see Matthai, *Village Government*, pp. 91—92.
[778] Kambar, *Ērelupadu*, v. 51.

It was only in the 19th century that these were collected by the Government in the shape of an addition to the land revenue and paid by them to the village servants.[779] The point is of some importance because direct payment by the ryot brings the servant into direct touch with the villagers and makes for greater interest being felt in the work.

The origin of these systems of payment must be traced to the time when money was not in common vogue; they, however, continued to exist even after money had become fairly common as a medium of exchange. They resulted in making the village servants attached to the village, and, as the right to serve the village was often hereditary, the village servants were practically fixed to the village. Indeed, in some instances, a specific provision was made against their taking up extra work elsewhere. In an inscription dated 1113 A.D.[780] we are told that persons who are qualified to do the services of *bhaṭṭavṛtti, kiḍai, aḍaippu, kūṭṭam, kaṇakku, taccu* and others should take up such services in the village only: "Those who engage themselves in these services beyond the village will be considered to have transgressed the law, to have committed a fault against the great assembly and to have ruined the village".

Attachment to the village.

In return for such payments the villager was entitled to have his work done without further individual payment; in a few cases, the service included

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[779] Hemingway, *Trichinopoly*, p. 241.

[780] 205 of 1919.

also service for the hamlets of the village.[781] The custom of the time also laid down certain rules for guidance of the village servants in their work. A washerman, e.g. was not to wear the clothes given to him for washing; if he wore, hired out or lent them, he was to be punished.[782]

Services expected of servants.

(6) THE TEMPLE: ITS ECONOMIC ASPECT

Introductory: secular functions of the Temple—The Temple as employer; number of persons employed—Free and servile—Office generally hereditary—Wages—Customary perquisites—Duties—Treatment of the employees by the Temple—Control over their conduct—The Temple as landlord; how the Temple acquired property—Direct farming and leases—House property—The Temple a careful landlord—Help rendered by the Temple to the tenants—The Temple as consumer—Services rendered by the Temple in the economic sphere: as lender—As depository—Reclamation of land—Handicrafts—Poor relief—Other ways of contact between the Temple and villagers—Privileges of the Temple: irrigation — Grazing — Property — Tolls — Taxation — Miscellaneous —The Temple as donee—The wealth of the Temple—The South Indian Temple and the Mediaeval European Church—The Temple as an agency in breaking the isolation and self-sufficiency of the village.

The religion of a community is not something unrelated to its secular activities any more than the religious experience of an individual is apart from his general mental development. The Temple likewise was a powerful social and economic entity besides being a source of religious inspiration for the people. Inscriptions give us some idea of the diverse

Introductory: secular functions of the Temple.

[781] 210 of 1919.

[782] Vijñāneśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 238.

secular functions the Hindu temples were designed to discharge: they were fortresses, treasuries, court-houses, parks, fairs, exhibition sheds, and halls of learning and of amusement. Here we are more immediately concerned to note those spheres of activity in which the Temple touched the economic life of the people.

The Temple as employer.

The position of the Temple as an employer providing work and the means of livelihood for a large number of people is the most striking thing in this connexion. 'Abdu-r Razzāk noted with regard to Bidrur that all the village enjoyed pensions and allowances from that building (the temple).[783] Perhaps the most detailed account of the number of people who were thus supported by a temple and the wages they received is that given in the Tanjore inscriptions.[784] The list includes the following:—

Number of persons employed.

Employee		Number	Remuneration for each
Dancing girls	...	400	1 *vēli* of land and 1 house
Dancing masters	...	12	1½ to 2 *vēli* of land
Singers	...	5	1½ "
Pipers	...	7	1½ "
Drummers	...	2	1½ "
Lute-players	...	2	1¾ "
Singers in Sanskrit	...	3	1½ "
Singers in Tamil	...	4	1½ "
Drummers (big)	...	3	1 "

[783] 1442 A.D., 'Abdu-r Razzāk, Elliot, *History*, IV, p. 105.
[784] 1011 A.D., *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 66.

Employee	Number	Remuneration for each
Conch-blowers ...	2	1 *vēli* of land
Pakkavādyar ...	5	$\frac{3}{4}$ "
Gāndharvar (Musicians) ...	3	$\frac{3}{4}$ "
Drummer ...	1	$\frac{3}{4}$ "
Troops of musicians ...	16	$\frac{3}{4}$ "
Tiruvāy kēḷvi ...	5	1 "
Superintendents of temple women and female musicians ...	2	2 "
Accountants ...	4	2 "
Under-accountants ...	4	$\frac{3}{4}$ "
Drummers ...	66	$\frac{1}{2}$ "
Sacred parasol-bearer ...	1	1 "
Sacred parasol-bearers ...	10	8/20 "
Lamp-lighter ...	1	1 "
Lamp-lighters ...	7	$\frac{1}{2}$ "
Sprinklers of water ...	4	$\frac{1}{2}$ "
Cannāliyal ...	2	$\frac{3}{4}$ "
Potter ...	1	1 "
Potters ...	10	8/20 "
Washermen ...	2	1 "
Kāvidi ...	2	$\frac{1}{2}$ "
Barbers ...	2	$\frac{1}{2}$ "
Barber ...	1	1 "
Astrologers ...	2	1 "
Astrologers ...	4	$\frac{1}{2}$ "
Tailors ...	2	1 "
Jewel-stitcher ...	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$ "
Brazier ...	1	1 "
Master-carpenter ...	1	$1\frac{1}{2}$ "
Assistant carpenters ...	4	$\frac{3}{4}$ "
Pāṇan ...	4	$1\frac{1}{2}$ "
Superintendent of goldsmiths ...	1	1 "
Total ...	609	

The number of employees in the service of the Temple, and the variety of interests represented make

the position of the Temple as an employer considerably important. Nor should it be thought that the instance above cited is an exceptional one. Other inscriptions from elsewhere and of later date give such accounts. An inscription of 1280 A.D.[785] from Kōlār district informs us that 52 families of servants had to perform various duties in the temple and were paid by grants of land. The list includes *Śiva Brāhmaṇas,* drummers, one dancing master, dancing girls, singers and stage managers, Brahmans for repeating prayers and conducting sacrifices, one gardener, families of potters and one accountant.

To the list we may add the number of employees in institutions attached to and under the management of the temple. Such were the professors appointed to teach the Vēdas, the teachers who expounded the Rūpāvatāra, the Vyākaraṇa and the Mīmāmsa employed in the Vēdic College attached to the temple in Eṇṇāyiram in South Arcot[786] and the men put in charge of conducting the hostel and the hospital in the same place.

Free and servile.

The labour employed by the temple may be classed into free and servile. The latter is treated elsewhere.[787] Connected with the former are certain interesting questions: Was the office hereditary? How were the employees paid?

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[785] About 1280 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, X, Bowringpet 38 a.

[786] *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 28.

[787] Infra, ch. II, sec. (8).

What were their functions? Was the treatment meted out to them as employees on the whole fair? Appointments to temple offices were generally hereditary. An inscription[788] records that a new dancing master was appointed in the place of a deceased relative of his. The hereditary principle was apparently so strong that a certain Svāmidēvar cancelled an order of the king appointing two *Śaiva Ācāryas* and put in two others who possessed hereditary rights to the office.[789] In an order of appointment it is stated, "Instead of those among these persons, who would die or emigrate, the nearest relations of such persons were to receive that paddy and to recite the *Tiruppadiyam.* If the nearest relations of such persons were not qualified themselves, they were to select (other) qualified persons, to let (these) recite the *Tiruppadiyam* and to receive that paddy. If there were no near relations to such persons, the (other) incumbents of such appointments were to select qualified persons for reciting the *Tiruppadiyam* and the person selected was to receive the paddy in the same way, as that person (whom he represented) had received it."[790] In a few instances the particular relation who was to occupy the post was specified e.g. "the son of his [paternal uncle] who has married his daughter",[791] brother[792] etc. Occasionally

Office generally hereditary.

[788] 23 of 1895, 6th year of Rājēndra-Cōḷa.

[789] 1087 A.D., 40 of 1906.

[790] 1011 A.D., *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 65, p. 256.
Trav. Arch. Series, III, 23.
Ep. Ind., XI, pp. 184 ff.

[791] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 66, sec. 427.

[792] Ibid., sec. 449.

where the choice had to be made from among a number of claimants or for specific reasons from outside the hereditary circle, the recommendations of a *sabhā* seem to have superseded the choice of an individual,[793] and even the hands of a *sabhā* (*pariṣad*) were tied by provisions made against abuse of their position.[794] The wages received by these employees are often reckoned in terms of land[795] in fact it would appear to have been *par excellence* the system in vogue then.[796] Artisans too received wages in land.[797] Female attendants seem to have been provided with houses also.[798] In a few instances the houses are said to have been double storeyed.[799] Sometimes, the employees were also paid some money—probably to enable them to purchase commodities which were obtainable only for money. In times of scarcity, however, when the temple had no funds, wages could be paid in kind. At Tiruvallam, for instance, when the temple had no fund, the trustees ordered that a certain portion of the sacrificial food (*prasāda*) might be given to the *arcaka*.[800]

Wages.

Besides, there were certain customary perquisites which were not quite negligible, and increased the real wages of the employee. Employees in some cases received food, some inscriptions specifically stating that Brahman employees and

Customary perquisites.

793 1413 A.D., 576 of 1916.
794 991 A.D., *Trav. Arch. Series*, II, 7 C.
795 supra, pp. 275—76.
796 1139 A.D., 393 of 1915, Guntur.
797 729 of 1919.
798 1235 A.D., *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 38—39.
799 *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 38—39.
800 284 of 1921.

Non-Brahman employees were served with food.[801] The washerman had, if we may infer from a later evidence, the right to receive the heads of animals sacrificed and one woman of that class received from the villagers collectively 3 sheep and 3 rupees.[802] The temple also helped them in times of need. A temple woman was forced to sell, by public auction, her land in order to pay a fine imposed on her by Kālingarāyar, probably a minister of king Vīra Pāṇḍya, and the temple purchased it.[803]

Besides permanent employees, the temple also sometimes employed labour for temporary work such as executing the repairs in the shrine, and the wages paid took the form of gifts of land and a house-site.[804] A variation of this was where such occasional services became periodical and recurring; thus in the temples of the south we find carpenters were engaged and provided with land generally termed *taccācārīyakkāṇi*, i.e., land set apart exclusively for the architects who were to look after the repairs in the temple, their duties also being described as *daśa-kriyai*.[805] Masons similarly acquired the permanent right of repairing the temple.[806]

Where, however, lands were not assigned for wages, a gift of an annuity of paddy and a portion of the daily food offered to the gods made up the wages;[807] or a

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[801] 277-D of 1899, 1375 A.D. *South Ind. Inscr.*, VI, 785.
[802] Mackenzie, *The Village Feast*, *Ind. Ant.*, III, pp. 6—9.
[803] 277 of 1910, *A.R.E.*, 1911, part ii, para 43.
[804] 1247 A.D., 403 of 1908.
[805] 188 of 1909, *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 60.
[806] 1412 A.D., 676 of 1909.
[807] 676 of 1916.

house, land and some offered food combined made up the full wage.[808] In other cases, the wages were reckoned at a certain number of measures of paddy every day and a number of gold coins per year[809]; in others again, only paddy, e.g. 3 *kuruṇi* of paddy each to the drummers.[810] Where the wages took the form of land, the area of land allotted varied from 2 *vēli* of land with an income of 200 *kalam* of paddy annually for high officials like the temple superintendent to half a *vēli* with an income of 50 *kalam*, for servants, like the barber. Instances where paddy and money were combined also occur, e.g. 1 *padakku* of paddy per day and 4 *kāśu* per year.[811]

It appears thus that the range of payment was between 200 *kalam* and 50 *kalam*.[812]

Duties.

The duties performed by the temple servants are in most cases clear from their designations, but it may not be so well known that a washerman was to supply the cotton rags used for torches[813] on some occasions, and to carry the torch in front of the goddess; he had, of course, some perquisites in return.

Treatment of the employees by the Temple.

Whether on the whole the treatment of its employees by the Temple was fair we have no adequate data to decide. We have instances, however, of temple

[808] 513 of 1925.

[809] 1011 A.D., *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 69.

[810] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 65.

[811] See list given above.

[812] infra, ch. VIII.

[813] See for the survival of the custom in parts of Mysore, Mackenzie, *The Village Feast*, *Ind. Ant.*, III, pp. 6—8.

servants continuing to serve the temple for over half a century e.g. an account of a blind washerman past ninety years who actually said that he had been for over half a century washing the clothes of the idols and would by the smell of the water with which the image was bathed tell accurately which was the old image.[814] We have also stray instances where the employees were prepared even to lay down their life for the temple: these may point to the good relations maintained.[815] The evidence on the other side also may be given. Particularly those on the lowest rungs of the ladder seem to have suffered from petty oppression on the part of superiors. This is evidenced by a few inscriptions in the Travancore State where it is stated e.g. that the drummers had a grievance as their holdings were taken up by those in authority to their own disadvantage and so they had to secure their position by having an order passed that the holdings of the drummers should not be taken up for cultivation or on mortgage by the *kōyiludaiyār,* the supervisors of the temple, and that those who transgressed this condition should be punished by fines.[816]

Control over their conduct.

Generalization in respect of the treatment meted out is therefore not possible; the temple, however, would seem to have claimed powers to regulate the conduct of its servants. One of the rules laid down is that temple servants should not borrow money; if they did, both the debtor and the creditor should be made to

[814]Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India,* pp. 160—61.

[815] 1281 A.D., *A.R M.,* 1927, 11, p. 41.

[816]*Trav. Arch. Series,* V, pp. 173—79.

pay a fine of 100 *kaḷañju* of gold to the temple.[817] The punishment for disregarding the rules is more severe in another[818] where it is stated that if a worshipping priest had received loan he should not be permitted to do duty in the temple, and that creditors had no claim against the debtors, if they were temple servants, for the recovery of the loan.

The Temple as landlord; how the Temple acquired property.

Closely connected with this aspect is the Temple as a landlord having many tenants under it. By accepting gifts and purchases and by confiscating lands for misappropriation of temple property[819] and in a few cases by bequest of property by pious people,[820] or by accepting land in lieu of taxes due to the temple,[821] the Temple had generally large areas of land in its possession often marked out by the *tiruccūlam* or the *tiruvāḷi*[822]—which in many cases enabled it to conduct the temple services satisfactorily. No doubt some temples had a large income and others less,[823] the richer temples in a few cases, being prepared to help their poorer neighbours with their surplus income.[824] And certain measures helped the Temple to avoid parting with its property. Prevention of mortgaging or selling temple land was one such; injunctions of this kind occur more frequently in the Canarese records,[825] in-

[817] *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, 39.
[818] ibid., 41.
[819] 203 of 1912.
[820] 1238 A.D., 431 of 1919.
[821] 1506 A.D., 330 of 1921.
[822] 113 of 1911.
[823] 1231 A.D., 537 of 1922, *A.R.E.*, 1923, part ii, para 43.
[824] ibid.
[825] 1369 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, IV, Yeḷandūr 64.

fringement being punished with the confiscation of the property of the one who attempted such infringement. A similar example comes also from Cidambaram, South Arcot, where it is said that the villagers taking up on mortgage the lands purchased, presented to or otherwise owned by the temples, stubbornly refused to give back those lands to the temples and hence it was ordered that temple lands should in no case be let out on (long) lease nor should they be assigned to anyone as tax-free hereditary property or free gift.[826] The kind of immovable property owned by the temple included house sites and houses[827] either built by the temple or presented to it.[828] The environs of the temple were generally its property; there were special rules regarding the sale of house-sites in that locality.[829] Such house-sites could be gifted away by the temple in return for any special services rendered to it by private persons.[830] The temple owned gardens too where it grew flowers and fruits—an inscription even records the arrangements made for the disposal of fruits grown in the temple garden.[831]

Direct farming and leases.

Lands were either farmed by the temple managers, or let on lease. Among the systems of lease, followed by the Temple, *uḻavukkāṇi* was one. This is seen to have consisted of a permanent lease of an uncultivated waste which the lessee was authorised to reclaim with a view to grow

[826] 1428 A.D., *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 27; 408 of 1922.
[827] 1235 A.D., *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 38—39.
[828] 491 of 1909.
[829] 1204 A.D., 486 of 1902.
[830] 1393 A.D., 649 of 1902.
[831] 17 of 1908.

the crops he liked, wet or dry, including plantain, sugarcane, turmeric, ginger, areca and cocoanut, and after doing this, to pay the taxes in gold and in grain.[832]

House property.

Similarly the Temple as owner of house property had rules for the construction and occupation of the houses by temple servants, etc. and the rents to be paid by the occupants;[833] from a record of Tirukkōyilūr it appears that the tenants occupying houses owned by the temple were to look after the repairs of the buildings themselves.[834] Leases of house-sites were also given with certain conditions conducive to the interest of the temple, e.g., the lessee had to plant cocoanut trees in an allotted portion of land from the yield of which cocoanut oil had to be extracted after the 6th year of planting and supplied to the temple.[835] Another records an order of the temple fixing certain taxes leviable as formerly on the cocoanut trees grown in the house-sites and backyards of houses in the premises of the temple.[836]

How far the Temple as a landowner differed from other private landowners, we have no means of ascertaining. That it had a special character of its own was maintained by the fact that leases were entered in the name of Caṇḍēśvara, the first servant of God—

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[832] 353 of 1912, *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 56.
[833] 1243 A.D., 511 of 1920.
[834] 357 of 1921.
[835] 1003 A.D., 512 of 1922.
[836] 354 of 1927.

thus reminding the tenants that they held of God and not of human agency.[837]

The Temple a careful landlord.

That the Temple was careful to ensure the proper payment of its dues is seen from the fact that officers of the temple were appointed to supervise the harvesting (*kaṅkāṇiccu*),[838] that it was customary to take from the tenant an extra quantity of grain to meet wastage,[839] and that failure to comply with the conditions of assignment deprived the cultivator of his cultivating right.[840] Again inscriptions definitely mention that such charges as the carriage hire, tolls and ferry dues required for transporting the paddy from the threshing ground to the temple court yard, where it had to be measured out free from chaff, dust and unripe grains, must be borne by the cultivator and that the stipulated quantity of paddy should be given in heaped measures.[841] Again sureties were often provided; in case tenants ran away without paying the dues, the amount was recovered from the man who stood surety for them.[842] Instances also occur where the tenants usurped the temple land and the trustees had to restore it.[843]

It is to be noted that the conditions of temple tenancy were governed in part by the necessities of the temple e.g. provisions like those who hold the lands

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837 *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, p. 164.

838 1036 A.D., *Trav. Arch. Series*, II, 7 M.

839 *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, 40, p. 177.

840 ibid.

841 1196 A.D., *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, 9.

842 1276 A.D., 426 of 1912.

843 *South Ind. Inscr.*, V, 704.

meant for perpetual lamps should pay the dues in instalments. The rent from lands set apart for burning lamps during the month '*Vṛścika*' must be classed under this category.[844] The temple tenants were also generally not allowed to alienate their holdings by mortgage or sale; they had only the right of engagement under stipulated conditions.[845]

It must be said in this connexion that there are many instances where humane treatment was meted out to the tenants. For one thing, needy cultivators could occasionally borrow from the temple treasury to meet urgent seasonal demands,[846] Again an inscription of 1216 A.D. records how in times of distress when tenants were leaving their fields, a good *kāṇiyāḷan* in the service of the temple gave them what was required for 'maintenance'.[847] Instances also occur where tenants were supplied with houses to live in.[848]

Help rendered by the Temple to the tenants.

The Temple was also a consumer. Cocoanut, sandal, rice, turmeric, incense, leaves, flowers, lights, ghee, salt, pepper, arecanut and betel nuts are mentioned in an inscription of 1372 A.D. as being generally used,[849] and we may suppose this held good generally of South Indian temples with the addition of oil, mustard, pulse, sugar,

The Temple as consumer.

[844] *Trav. Arch. Series*, II, 7 C.
[845] *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, 23.
[846] 1178 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, V, Bēlūr 83.
[847] *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 41.
[848] 443 of 1921.
[849] *Ep. Car.*, IV, Guṇḍlupēt 35, about 1372 A.D.

plantains, curds, firewood, etc.[850] The interesting point about the list is the internal demand for spices. Rose-water, musk, camphor and European saffron were in demand almost everywhere.[851] Camphor of good quality was imported from the East, and as it had to be paid for in cash, endowments for camphor were invariably lent out at money interest.

Services rendered by the Temple in the economic sphere: as lender.

The services that the temple rendered to the people of the village were manifold. Giving loans from the temple treasury was one important service. To the cultivators in times of need,[852] to the distressed father anxious to perform the marriage of his daughter[853] or for indefinite purposes[854] money was lent with or without security.[855] The personal credit of the borrower perhaps counted. Besides such services to individuals, sometimes, the temple rendered a general service to the village: when the village tank breached and no funds were available for the repair, the temple authorities helped the villagers, we are told, by selling a portion of the temple land and utilizing the proceeds for repairing the breach in the tank.[856] Village assemblies also borrowed from temples for purposes such as purchasing house sites.[857]

[850] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 6.
[851] 1259 A.D., 160 of 1906—*paninīr, kastūri, karpūram, kunkumam.*
[852] 1178 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, V, Bēlūr 83.
[853] *Ep. Car.*, VI, Mūḍgere 62.
[854] 1078 A.D., 163 of 1910.
1184 A.D., 394 of 1922.
1269 A.D., *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 379.
[855] *Ep. Car.*, VI, Mūḍgere 62.
[856] 1382-3 A.D., 241 and 251 of 1906.
[857] 1105 A.D., 228 of 1923; *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 499.

Whether the South Indian Temple also served the complementary function of serving as a depository for private individuals (apart from funds meant as endowments in temples) is not clear from available evidence. It is possible that as deposits in the temples were sacred, and could not be stolen without committing sacrilege, private individuals resorted to it to take advantage of the safety it afforded but in the absence of positive evidence we are unable to more than venture this suggestion.[858]

As depository.

The encouragement given by the temple to the reclamation of lands has already been dealt with. Indirectly gifts of land to temples being considered meritorious, pious people thought it worthy to reclaim land in order to gift it to the temple;[859] besides it directly reclaimed lands ;[860] it also stimulated it by its system of favourable leases—an important economic service. Be it also noted that not only did the temple open up a new locality, but helped to increase the population of an already inhabited place, e.g. we are told Rājēndra Cōḷa II issued an order to the effect that 25 families of Śankarappadi should be settled in the land at Tiruvālangāḍu, that the new settlement should be called Rājēndra Sōḷappadi and that the new settlers should have the duty of looking after the fifteen lamps of the temple.[861]

Reclamation of land.

[858] It may be noted in passing that such functions were fulfilled by temples in ancient Babylon, Egypt and Greece; see Weber, *Economic History*, pp. 256—57.

[859] 128 and 103 of 1912; *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 24; see also 32 of 1906.

[860] supra, pp. 195—96; see also 32 of 1906 and 658 of 1919.

[861] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 65.

Other inscriptions tell us the way in which temples gave encouragement to handicrafts and particularly to weavers by giving them favourable terms for colonising the precincts of the temple.[862]

Handicrafts.

From a few records copied in the Travancore State, we learn that one or two of its rulers demarcated some lands to enable certain classes of weavers, etc., to colonise them and by exemption of the residents from certain taxes and by the grant of other small concessions to them made these colonies what are called *añjinānpugalidam* or asylums for the fearful (oppressed).[863]

It is noteworthy that such services were appreciated by villagers. In times of need, therefore, private individuals also helped the temple. We are told a certain Tirunaṭṭapperumāḷ spent 400 *paṇam* for the temple during a famine in 1391 A. D.[864] When the temple suffered loss on account of mortgaged property, the villagers came forward to replenish the loss;[865] besides, the Temple enlisted the sympathy and economic help from the gentry by its valuable system of 'temple honours'—receiving the sacred cloth, *parivaṭṭam*, *tīrtha*, and the sacred ashes, etc—which were distributed with discretion, and specially for those who helped towards the up-keep of the temple.[866]

[862] 368, 370 and 381 of 1923; *A.R.E.*, 1924, part ii, para 40.
[863] *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 54. 587 of 1926, 1302 A.D.
[864] 649 of 1902.
[865] 382 of 1916.
[866] 51 of 1916, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 83.

But perhaps the greatest service rendered by the temple was that it acted as a centre of poor relief.

Poor-relief.

Voluntary charity was no doubt spasmodic; but some system was possible when a part, at least, of this spasmodic charity could be collected in a central place like the temple. One function where it coupled poor-relief with service of a more lasting character was when it received endowments for feeding and clothing and imparting instruction to students; in this function the temple was usually helped by an adjunct, the *maṭha,* often attached to it,[867] the property of the latter being often amalgamated with that of the temple. The educational institutions organised by some temples were very large establishments. An inscription of 1122 A.D. records a gift of 44 villages by the king for such a purpose at Kurnool.[868] The Eṇṇāyiram inscription records the grant of 45 *vēli* of land for similar purposes.[869] A further purpose was served when the temples started hospitals in addition.[870] The temple was also the place where ancient kings performed their *tulābhāra* and *hiraṇyagarbha* ceremonies. The Tamil work *Kōyiloḷugu* states that the great Pāṇḍya king, Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (1251-71 A.D.), built several *tulāpuruṣa-maṇḍapas* in the Srirangam temple and had his *tulābhāra* ceremony performed there several times.[871]

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867 1453 A.D., 583 of 1916.

868 259 of 1905.

869 *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, paras 27—31, 333 of 1917, *Trav. Arch. Series*, II, p. 138.

870 1062—67 A.D., 182 of 1915, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 16, *Trav. Arch. Series*, II, p. 149—*ātira-śālai*, p. 138—*ātula-śālai*.

871 Subramania Iyer, *Historical Sketches*, pp. 338—39.

Other ways of contact between the temple and villagers.

In other ways also the Temple kept in touch with the villagers. Occasional contributions from the people of the locality was one such. A contribution from the farmers for a lamp was being daily collected at Maḷavaḷḷi;[872] in other instances, the contribution collected was in kind—rice, vegetables, ghee, and betel leaves, evidently meant for offerings.[873] An inscription of 1228 A.D. records that the temple was authorised, according to an agreement drawn up by all classes of people, to collect a certain amount from cities, villages and military stations to provide funds for repairs,[874] the amount that the individual had to pay being determined by his caste or occupation. Another point of contact was the investment of endowed money with villagers, who agreed to pay the interest on that sum every year to the authorities of the temple on whose behalf the investment was made. It is interesting to note that the agreement held good in perpetuity for the obligation implied also bound the descendants of the original borrower, of "the house where the money had been given" (invested).[875] Exchange of lands of villagers, with temple lands also occasionally took place.[876] Again, if the *dēvadāna* lands were lying waste

[872] *Ep. Car.*, III, Maḷavaḷḷi 90, 1520 A.D.

[873] *Ep. Car.*, III, Tirumukūḍaḷ—Narsīpūr 81—1320 A.D.

[874] *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 285.

[875] *Manaiyil koḍutta paṇam*, *Ep. Ind.*, XV, pp. 146—47; the editor of the inscription adds, "The obligation implied in it was not personal, but territorial". For the prevalence of the custom in modern times in some villages in the Malabar district, see ibid.

[876] 1073 A.D., 110 of 1911, 399 of 1913 and 326 of 1923.

for want of tenants, private individuals purchased them and helped the temple.[877]

Privileges of the Temple: irrigation.

The privileges, which the temple enjoyed in the economic sphere, appear as though they were a return for the services rendered by the temple. First, came its privileges in the matter of irrigation. The formula "the first turn of water must flow to (*the fields of*) the god; the water of the channel issuing from the tank must (*first*) irrigate only the 29 *mā* of land, and then be distributed (*for further irrigation*)" is found in an inscription from Vikramangalam, Madura district.[878] The first claim seems to have been established as a customary right; for an inscription of 1021 says that the irrigation of wet land from the channel was to be in the *usual* order, permitting the temple garden the first claim.[879] Sometimes, in addition, a certain proportion, such as ¼, of the water flowing in the river or channel was appropriated for the temple.[880] Elsewhere, the right to excess water which overflowed from the tank of a certain village was granted by the *ūr* to the temple.[881] The Temple also could prohibit others using particular tanks reserved for it;[882] the sanction to enforce this right was often the threat of calling down divine anger, and excommunication from the religious group.[883]

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877 250 of 1914.

878 1200 A.D.—*Arch. Surv. Southern India*, IV, part i, 18, Vikramangalam.

See also *Ep. Car.*, V, Arsikere 127, 1185 A.D.

879 172 of 1915, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 11.

880 498 of 1926, *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 87.

881 1221 A.D., 399 of 1916.

882 197 of 1925; 1185 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, V, Arsikere 127.

883 ibid., 595 of 1926.

The privilege of free grazing allowed to the temple cows was indeed a valuable one. We are told, e.g.

Grazing.

that "the cows and sheep belonging to the temple may freely graze on certain lands in a large number of villages in Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam whose names are enumerated and that no tax will be levied on them by the owners;"[884] a variation of this was found in the remission of grazing fees, *pullari* and '*illari*' house-tax due from the herdsmen who tended temple cows.[885]

Another privilege which was perhaps limited in its application was the right, voluntarily granted to the Temple by communities in certain localities, to receive

Property.

the property of those who died without sons, as well as unclaimed property;[886] a variation of this is found in an inscription from Shimoga where we read: "if anyone in your villages dies without children, brothers or other posterity, all their jewels and property, whatever it may be, we will distribute among claimants of the same *gōtra* as the deceased. If there should be no such claimants, we will give it to the temple of the village."[887] Again the property of residents who were servants of the temple was to be confiscated to the temple treasury after their death if they left no issue.[888] If there was excess of land discovered by comparison with existing village accounts the temple was the fit recipient of

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884 623 of 1919.

885 1336 A.D., 388 of 1926.

886 1181 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, VII, Shikāipur 119.

887 *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Nagar 5.

888 154 of 1909, *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 42.

this.[889] The residents of a *nāḍu* decided that if any damage was caused to the arable land or if any injury was committed on the highway, a piece of land was to be assigned to the temple as punishment.[890] Similarly the property of those who were censured for their leanings towards Vaiṣṇavism[891] was confiscated in favour of the temple. A curious instance of the Temple being considered the reserve claimant for particular types of unclaimed property is given in a Mysore inscription:[892] "The property of the elder brother should go to the younger, that of the younger to the elder, and in case there were no heirs it should go to relations; but a *tank* in such a case became the property of a Śiva temple."

Again in cases where arbitration was to take place, the members who represented the residents of many surrounding villages promised help on condition the parties concerned endowed same land in their village to the temple.[893]

On marriage occasions by private agreement, a certain amount of money was set apart for the temple.[894]

Tolls.

The Temple also secured immunity from petty tolls for the conveyance of its goods, a free pass being often granted for its

[889] 311 of 1913.
[890] 373 of 1914; see *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 156.
[891] 257 of 1925, *A.R.E.*, 1925, part ii, para 20.
[892] *A.R.M.*, 1920, para 98—1313 A.D. Italics are mine.
[893] 1460 A.D.—*Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 799.
[894] 383 of 1905; *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 281.

bullocks, a useful privilege at a time when tolls were an important item adding to the price of a commodity.

Taxation.

Remission of taxes was quite a regular feature; Nuniz says that the king granted to the pagodas a fifth part of the revenue of his kingdom.[895] Sometimes this was effected on a representation made to the king by the authorities of the temple;[896] in other cases, it was done when a private person capitalised the value of the annual tax;[897] in others again, the king did it of his own accord. An example on a large scale is the one made by Krishna Rāya who remitted the *jōḍi, araśupēṟu* and other taxes in favour of certain Śiva and Viṣṇu temples, the revenue amounting to 10,000 *varāha*. Where taxes were not wholly remitted, lower rates were imposed.[898]

In some instances of remission, however, the temple tenants were only apparently exempted from certain customary taxes, they being in reality expected to give them instead to the temple.[899] Instances also occur where the temple lands were once assessed but later were made tax-free.[900] This particular privilege depending as it did on government seems to have lost its old significance in some parts of

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[895] Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 304.

[896] 1290 A.D., 268 of 1905.

[897] 355 of 1907; copies of the order of the king are found in the Trichinopoly, South Arcot and Tanjore districts—*A.R.E.*, 1906, part ii, para 48.

[898] 433 of 1921.

[899] 527 of 1912, *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 69.
376 of 1913, *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 27.

[900] 179 of 1913.

the country which came under Mahomedan rule.[901] though elsewhere we have evidence of the fact that they also respected the privileges of the temple.

The privilege of remission of taxes did not ordinarily lead to a corresponding enhancement in the property of others, but that this was not always sure may be seen from an inscription of Sundara-Pāṇḍya.[902] It was decided to remit the dues on lands given for worship to the temple at Cidambaram, care being taken to enhance the rent proportionately on the remaining lands in the village so as to recoup the amount remitted.

It is necessary at this stage to emphasize the fact that it is an erroneous idea that all temple lands were free from taxes. The fact that remissions were made proves that the normal feature was that the temple had to pay the taxes. Again there are clear instances where arrangements are made to recover taxes due to the king from the temple[903] and rules were laid down in regard to the levying of taxes on temples.[904]

Miscellaneous.

As extreme instances of the privileged position of the temple, we may note that the streets of a village could be re-arranged to suit the altered character of the processions of the god,[905] and houses of private individuals could be acquired because they were required in constructing the *prākāra* of the

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901 64 of 1916, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 33.
902 535 of 1920.
903 146 of 1927.
904 267 of 1927, 29th year of Kulōttunga Cōḷa.
905 1086 A.D., 288 of 1907.

temple according to the *Śāstrās*,[906] with exchange of sites, if possible.[907]

The Temple as donee.

The gifts received by the Temple were of numerous kinds. The Tanjore inscriptions prove that utensils, bells, articles of jewelry, copper and stone images were usually dedicated in temple in large numbers, the dedications being generally made in accordance with the directions contained in Hēmādri's *Dānakhaṇḍa*.[908] Buffaloes[909] and cows,[910]—the number received was sometimes so large that the temple had to sell away some of them as it was found difficult to protect them against robbers—were also common objects of gift.

The *vṛṣabhas* granted to the temple became privileged by the very fact of their belonging to a privileged body.[911] The *Mitākṣarā* says that the *utsṛṣta-paśavaḥ*, i.e. cows let loose in honour of a deity according to the rites and consecrating bulls and the like, should be set free and should not be fined even when another's crop is consumed by them.[912] This theoretical statement of the author of the *Mitākṣarā* is supported by a passage in Paes, where he says that the temples had many bulls presented to them by devotees and these bulls went about the city without any one causing them any harm or loss.[913]

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906 1201 A.D., 408 of 1916.

907 1099 A.D., 441 of 1921.

908 *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 1—10, Hēmādri, *Dānakhaṇḍa*, and Burnell, *South Indian Palaeography*, p. 58.

909 262 and 263 of 1905.

910 315 of 1904.

911 421 of 1913.

912 Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 163.

913 Paes, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 238, 1520 A.D.

The endowments were made mostly for specific purposes and invested also specifically; e.g. an inscription records[914] that in 1391 A.D. an endowment was made for the supply of a garland of *tulasi* leaves to the temple. A festival was to be conducted with the rent realised on a house presented to it by a private individual.[915]

An inscription from Travancore is quite explicit on this point:—"The income from those items that are set apart for the lamps and food offering, or for the feeding of Brāhmaṇas and the lamps, or for food offering and feeding of *Brāhmaṇas* or for the recitation of the *Mahābhārata* should not be appropriated to or spent upon one another, but must be expended only for those purposes for which they are intended."[916]

A novel mode of endowing temples is noted in an inscription of the thirteenth century.[917] The king is said to have presented different kinds of fruits which were manufactured out of heaps of gold, such as areca-nuts, jack-fruits, plantains, cocoanuts and mangoes, besides golden images and arches, golden cars, troughs, aureoles and pedestals, golden armours and thrones.

The wealth of the Temple.

The temple had sometimes surpluses from its annual income—though occasionally such surpluses were utilized in celebrating festivals, etc.,[918] or in helping the poor ones,[919] these surpluses were often utilized in

914 1391 A.D., 267 of 1899.
915 491 of 1909.
916 *Trav. Arch. Series*, II, 7 C.
917 1257 A.D., *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 15.
918 1263 A.D., 363 of 1914.
919 1231 A.D., 537 of 1922, *A.R.E.*, 1923, part ii, para 43

making gold ornaments and silver vessels and were thus a sort of reserve fund,[920] its use being vindicated in times of scarcity.[921]

In these several ways the temples became centres of hoarded wealth. Kings and chiefs, merchants and land owners vied with one another in presenting rich offerings to their favourite places of worship, and when it is remembered that this practice had been going on from time immemorial, there is no wonder that the wealth of the temples was an attraction for the invaders. We are told that in 1310 A.D. Malik Kāfur carried away 96,000 *mãns* of gold estimated at a hundred million sterling of English money.[922] Barbosa also testifies[923] to the great wealth of the temples.

The South Indian Temple and the Mediaeval European Church.

It is interesting to compare the South Indian temple with the mediaeval European Church. We are told so far as cases of individual hardship went, the church strove to diminish the sufferings of the poor; the monasteries were the homes of industry and in particular of the scientific treatment of agriculture; they were secure colleges for the learned and they were hospitals and alms-houses for the suffering. The festivals and the markets held under their authority gave freedom and safety to trade. The clergy and monastic orders did much for the physical and moral well being of the people. These observations seem to be

920 78 of 1897.

921 1205 A.D., 458 of 1913, *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 17.

922 See Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 402—03.

923 1516, Barbosa, *An Account*, I, pp. 115 and 196.

applicable to the temple of South India, almost word for word—only the men connected with the temple were mostly lay men in India.

The temple as an agency in breaking the isolation and self-sufficiency of the village.

A study of the temple in its economic aspect, it may be noted in conclusion, warns us against exaggerating the isolation and self-sufficiency of the mediaeval village. The point is fully dealt with later.[924] Here we may note that the temple by its ownership of land in different localities[925] made it necessary for economic relations to be maintained between village and village; the employees who served it were drawn not all from the same locality,[926] and in all these ways it helped to maintain contact between different villages.

(7) INTERNAL MIGRATION

Importance of the subject—Nature of the material—Rural and urban—The migratory habit—Individual and group movements—Individual migration—Group migration—Migrations of Brahman families—Desire to enter government service—Military colonies—Political and social causes—Economic causes—Urban migration—Migration on a large scale—Conclusion.

Importance of the subject—nature of the material.

The subject of internal migration has received little consideration at the hands of the modern economist[927] owing perhaps to the want of classified material requisite for the purposes of such a study. Much more difficult is it for the student of economic history

[924] infra, ch. II, sec. (9).

[925] 44 of 1906, 133 of 1909.

[926] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 69.

[927] Probably the earliest writer to draw attention to its importance was Bücher in his *Industrial Evolution*, pp. 345 ff.

to get material in this connexion which could be subjected to a scientific analysis. The difficulty is in part one of deficient chronology. Many of the sub-castes of the country preserve traditions of their ancestors having migrated from particular localities.[928] They are important as showing the character of the migration, and the motives which underlay such movements; in others, the prefix to their names indicates some old places from which they profess to have migrated, e.g. the *Pākanāṭis,* the name of a certain set of Telugu-speaking *Śūdras,* now in the Mysore territory, is traceable to Pāka, mentioned in the Biṭragunṭa inscription of 1356 A.D.;[929] the Mulikināḍuvāru profess to have emigrated from the Mulikidēśa, i.e. the Muliki country on the northern bank of the Peṇṇār river, in the Cuddapah district. We have again the Śrīnāḍuvāru, Kāsalnāḍuvāru, Velnāḍuvāru, etc., all called after the name of the respective places from which they first emigrated,[930] but when they migrated cannot in all cases be made out with certainty.

It cannot be denied, however, that the subject is of sufficient importance to merit a notice—which will serve to draw attention to the nature of the issues involved and constitute a general statement of the results of internal migration on mediaeval economic life.

Rural and urban.

While the migration of people within the country had its results on urban life and industry as well, the examples of such migrations as have come down to us, sporadic as well as

[928] See Thurston, *Castes and Tribes,* II, Dhōbi, Golla, Iḍayan, etc.

[929] *Ep. Ind.,* III, p. 24.

[930] *Ep. Ind.,* IV, p. 34 n. 4.

these on a large scale, appear to us predominantly rural in character, both in the motives which gave rise to them and in the results left behind.

The migratory habit.

At the outset what strikes one is that despite the lack of fast and comfortable means of transport, the individual in the middle ages appears much more migratory than what current conceptions of the isolation and self-sufficing nature of the mediaeval village would lead one to think.

Individual and group movements.

From time to time colonies of Telugu and Canarese speaking people have found their way down to the southern or Tamil country. In some cases they have been invited to settle down as cultivators in localities where waste lands were available. In others they followed probably in the train of invading armies. In the some way people from the Marāṭha country have settled in the south. We have movements of individuals sporadic and unorganised; we have also movements of groups which differ from the above, not merely in being on a larger scale, but more permanent and organised; but they are similar in that both imply a change of locality by persons seeking more favourable conditions of life.

Individual migration.

To the category of individual migrations belong gypsy life, peddling, the carrying on of itinerant trades such as those of the Ayyāvoḷe merchants, and migrations of a religious character. The epitaphs describing the *sallēkhanā* of the Jains show that

in order to end their life by the rite of *sallēkhanā* persons came to Beḷgoḷa (in the Mysore State) from the north and from various places in the south and even from such a distant place as Madura;[931] eminent Jaina *gurus,* poets, artists, chiefs, officers and other high personages in common with ordinary people deemed it a duty to visit the place at least once in their life-time.[932] Occasions when ascetics and their pupils left one *maṭha* to live in another form a third.[933]

Group migration—Migrations of Brahman families.

Group migration is here technically used to denote the migration of a group of families often belonging to the same class in the social hierarchy. Under this head come those migrations of Brahman families who were invited by grants of land to settle permanently. Kings and chiefs thought it a meritorious act to open up tracts of waste lands, to have houses built, and to settle Brahman families often numbering 108, and to provide for their maintenance with grants of land. Evidence of these settlements of Brahman colonies comes from all parts of the country; but perhaps the most important are those which gave occasion to those movements of groups from one linguistic area to another. The names of the grantees of the Śilāhāra kings of Tāna point to a Kanarese or Telugu source; they appear to be southerners, and *ayyas* or high-caste Dravidian Hindus appear to have had considerable influence at their court.[934] Three hundred families of

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[931] *Ep. Car.*, II, 10, 56, 117, 317, 421, etc.

[932] ibid., pp. 75-76.

[933] 504 of 1909, *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 33.

[934] XIII century, Nairne, *The Konkan*, *Bombay Gazetteer*, I, part ii, p. 21.

Brahmans "coming from Dravidian lands, members of divers *gōtras*" were granted the Village Nīrugunda in the Bellary district;[935] 60 families of Drāviḍa-Brāhmaṇas are said to have settled down in Guntur.[935a] Often such agrahāras were divided into *vṛttis*; the share of the *vṛttis* being, in some cases, proportionate to the number of members in the families of the donees.[936]

The economic results of such movements may now be summarized. First they set up a small leisured landlord class, living upon the labour of a larger number of tenants and small cultivators who were bound by various ties to serve their new masters. In many cases such settlements are expressly stated to be given "under charter, with a settlement of whatever is included in the *tribhōga,* as being exempt from tolls, taxes and opposing claims, immune from all payments...... carrying with it treasure and trouvaille, and wholly free";[937] in others, they were *sarvamānya* for a fixed period, three, four years[938] and so on, the tenants and other inhabitants, including the artisans and traders, all having to pay their dues to the new landlords. The collection of taxes was directly undertaken by the new

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[935] *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 145; also see *A.R.E.*, 1913, appendix A, copper-plate 8.

[935a] 94 of 1917 and *A.R.E.*, 1917, part ii, paras 34-36. This last seems partly to disprove the statements made by Cornish in *Madras Census*, Vol. I, p. 67, that there is "no instance of the Tamil people pushing their colonies up towards the north", and that "The migrations appear to have been always from north to south."

[936] *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 302.

[937] *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 145, Nilgunda, Bellary Vikramāditya VI, 12th and 48th years.

[938] 1471 A.D., 120 of 1921, *A.R.E.*, 1921, part ii, para 49.

landlords. The Tamil term *'taniyūr'* is expressive of the character of these little colonies: they were independent.

It is possible to cite in justification the text of the *Mitākṣarā* that Brahmans should be provided with lands,[939] where they could follow their *dharma* with freedom from the disturbing effects of poverty; we may even grant that kings and chiefs endowed such settlements from the same motive. It may be possible to go further and hold that some at least of the recipients of such benefits set up an example of good and contented life, "caring more for the soul than for the body"; but what is important to us from the economic point of view is that they led in many cases to a change in tenure from severalty to joint.[940] Again the new community tried to be exclusive in preventing strangers from getting entry into their fold by the custom of preemption.[941]

Such inducements as we have mentioned above do not seem to have been necessary in all cases. Especially in the troublous times which followed the irruptions of Mahomedans into Southern India, many families of Brahmans fled southwards and sought protection from the rulers, e.g. of Madura. Many followed the Mysore generals and others again came in search of employment. Nelson held[942] that these foreign Brahmans in Madura were chiefly Telugus, some from

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[939] Vijñāneśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, i, 339. ii, 185, 186.

[940] supra, ch. II, sec. (2) ii.

[941] 779 of 1922.

[942] Nelson, *The Madura Country*, part ii, p. 25.

Kanara, Mysore, Gujarat and from the Marāṭha countries; others were sent by the kings of Vijayanagar to control their southern conquests.[943]

Desire to enter government service.

Another motive of such migrations would appear to be the desire to enter government service—that probably explains the settlement of the popular tradition of the Āravēlu-Niyōgins,[944] in the Telugu country; they called themselves Āravēlu-Niyōgins, i.e. 'the six thousand officials, because their community then consisted of 6000 families'[945] and are said to have entered the Government service in the time of the Mahomedan rule.

Military colonies.

Again, military colonies, as a check on troublesome petty chiefs are said to have been established by Kulōttunga I in the agricultural tracts of the Pāṇḍya country, along the road to Koṭṭāṟu.[946]

Political and social causes.

An example of a migration due to political causes appears in an inscription from Tirukkaḍaiyūr, Tanjore district. The king made over a certain portion of his territory to his younger brother, there was distress in the country and some people emigrated. Kulaśēkhara apparently resumed the ceded territory subsequently. As a result of this step the people who had migrated to other provinces in the interval returned to their native

[943] Subramiah Pantulu, *Some Mile-stones*, p. 2.
Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, I, pp. cxlv and cxlvi.

[944] *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 34, n. 4, 1186 A.D.

[945] ibid.

[946] Krishnaswami Aiyangar, *South India*, p. 1.

country.[947] The terror caused by the victories of Ceylon is said to be the cause of the migration of families in the time of Rājādhirāja II (1178 A.D.).[948] A social difficulty explains the migration of the Telugu-speaking Tōṭṭiyans who say that they are immigrants from north of the Tungabhadra and that they left the country in order to avoid the vengeance of the Mahomedans who were angry because they had broken their promise to give one of their girls in marriage to a Mahomedan.[949]

Economic causes.

Of migrations due primarily to economic causes, we have some examples; they are, however, marked not by the movement of any particular class or community, but of those individuals or families who were affected by adverse economic conditions. Such e.g. were the movements of persons due to famines and epidemics which accompanied them. Famine, plague and *mārijvara* are given as reasons for a migration of the people in an inscription of 1257-8 A.D.[950] In 1472, when there was famine in the Dekhan, a large number of inhabitants of all classes fled to Gujarat and Malwa, which had escaped the visitation.[951]

The effects of such a migration would be a temporary dislocation in cultivation which would naturally be resumed when rain fell in greater abundance, or when the diseases disappeared. They led, however, to

[947] 46 of 1906, *A.R.E.*, 1907, part ii, para 27.
[948] 731 of 1909, *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 28.
[949] XIV century, Hemingway, *Trichinopoly*, p. 121.
[950] 580 of 1907, *A.R.E.*, 1908, part ii, para 73.
[951] Haig, *Cambridge History*, III, p. 417.

some interesting disputes regarding landed property which had changed hands in the meanwhile.[952] Such also was the case when the people deserted the villages owing to extortion either by an official or private agency. We are told, e.g., "The ministers had been taking presents (by force) from all ryots belonging to both the right-hand and left-hand classes at the commencement of each reign; in consequence of this all the ryots were harassed and ran away to foreign countries."[953] Extortion is evident in other ways, e.g. by a temple.[954] The pressure of taxes[954a] was another cause. Extortion took the shape of imposing hard conditions on the villagers, besides increase of taxes, e.g. an inscription of 1482 A.D. recounts the following hard conditions which were the cause of people leaving the place:— i. The price of the sheep was required to be determined by the price of ghee per mensem. ii. *Āḷamañji* was obtained in excess of the stipulated number. iii. The juice of the sugar canes grown in a village was required to be pressed out in the same locality. By these and other hard conditions imposed on the people, we are told, they were forced to leave the country.[955]

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[952] *A.R.E.*, 1908, part ii, para 73.

[953] 1446 A.D., 161 of 1906, *A.R.E.*, 1907, part ii, para 55; see also 492 of 1915.

[954] 354 of 1909, *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 53.

[954a] 497 of 1909, *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 32, Śōḷapuram, Tinnevelly district, a Pāṇḍya inscription; date not clear.

246 of 1916, Śrimushnam, South Arcot, 1513 A.D.

247 of 1916, Śrimushnam, South Arcot, 1504 A.D.

450 of 1921, Tiruveṇṇainallūr, South Arcot, date uncertain.

476 of 1921, Tiruveṇṇainallūr, South Arcot, 1446 A.D.

234 of 1927, 1178 A.D. Tirumandurai, Tanjore district.

[955] 103 of 1918, *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 69.

Sometimes, the insufficiency of cultivable lands was an additional reason for tenants leaving their place.[956]

The removal of disabilities or the grant of better terms to cultivators[957] or an assurance[958] that they would suffer no troubles in future generally sufficed to check the tendency to migrate. The reduction of taxes also induced them to resettle on the lands which they had once deserted; in a few instances, the cultivators required some concessions for the first year, to be induced to take up cultivation. In one inscription from Āḍuturai, Trichinopoly district, we are told that taxes were regulated at 5 *paṇam* for the first year and 10 from the following year on each plough of dry land and at 8 *paṇam* on every 100 *kuḻi* of wet land;[959] inducement was in other cases given by the increase in the length of the measuring rod.[960]

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[956] 7 of 1925.

[957] 36 of 1913.

[958] 566 of 1922.

[959] 36 of 1913, Āḍuturai, Trichinopoly, date uncertain.

492 of 1915, Kavutalam, Bellary, 1532 A.D.

246 of 1916, Śrimushnam, South Arcot, 1513 A.D. "A certain Sinnappa-Nāyakkar is stated in 246 of 1916 to have granted a *nirūpa* to the agriculturists of the 17—*paṟṟu* district who had migrated to other places on account of excessive taxation. The permanent settlement of *kaḍamai*, *kāṇikkai*, *kuḍi*, *māḍu-kāṇikkai*, *puravari* and *viniyōgam*, now introduced by Sinnappa-Nāyakkar fixed 28 *paṇam* on wet lands and 22 on dry lands for such residents as resided in the districts, 20 *paṇam* on wet lands and 15 *paṇam* on dry lands, for those who were going and coming, and again 15 *paṇam* on wet lands and 10 *paṇam* on dry lands to those that lived outside"—*A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 66.

247 of 1916, Śrimushnam, South Arcot, 1504 A.D.

[960] 97 of 1918, *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 69.

Regarding weavers' taxes sometimes the grievance was the existence of a number of minor taxes and so the grievance was remedied by having the taxes consolidated into one lump sum with provision for remission when looms were not working[961] so as to induce the weavers to recolonise the village. The same was adopted in the case of other artisans also.[962]

Urban migration.

Another example of group migration was of artisan classes—with its consequent effect in the development of handicrafts. The Saurāṣṭra silk weavers appear to have moved from Gujarat to Devagiri, and from there to the kingdom of Vijayanagar; they were well established there, at any rate by the beginning of the 15th century.[963] Here the contributory cause seems to have been the disturbance caused by Mahomedan invasions which made them seek a place of refuge and the existence of a rich empire which had a large demand for their work. Similarly the dyers appear to have come from distant lands and colonised the *Peruntеru* i.e. the big street in Kōṭṭār, in Travancore.[964] The incoming settlers were occasionally put to some social disabilities by the original residents. In the instance, just noted, of the dyers, they were not allowed to worship the village gods as the high class people did, were forbidden from living in particular localities, from using the village wells and from paying their respects to

[961] 471 of 1920, 201 of 1923, 1388 A.D.

[962] 340 of 1926.

[963] Saunders, *The Saurāṣṭra Community*, *J.M.U.*, I, pp. 69—70.

[964] 1486 A.D. Pillar inscription of Paraśurāmaperunteru in Kōṭṭār, Travancore, Nagam Aiya, *Travancore*, I, p. 279.

the king except through the Brahmans. It is interesting to note that when these were brought to the notice of the king, he put an end to these disabilities with a view to encourage handicrafts.

Immigration of an urban character appears also in the moving of the people to the *pēṭhe,* inducement in this direction being given by kings in the shape of freedom from taxation. Special inducements were held out, we are told, to settlers in the new *pēṭhe*[965] in Hoḷakere, such as freedom from taxation for one year and the giving up of old claims if they took possession.

Other examples of internal migration of a definitely urban character are of traders, cloth weavers and bankers. Trade in diamonds seems to have invited the Gujarāti merchants to settle in Munimaḍugu in the Kurnool district[966] near which place there were diamond mines. The migration of a body of cloth weavers from South India to Ceylon at the instance of a great Mahomedan merchant is said to have taken place about seven hundred years ago.[967] The Hindus of the Khatrī caste of Northern India had accompanied the various armies which had invaded the Dekhan; and when Muhammad I Bāhmani in 1360 A.D. put to death the Hindu bankers and money-changers for alleged disloyalty, their place was taken by the Khatrī caste.[968]

Migration on a large scale.

Of internal migration on a larger scale than of individual groups, we have only traditional accounts, e.g. of the colonization of

[965] *Ep. Car.*, XI, Hoḷalkere 112.

[966] *The Antiquarian Remains*, I, p. 93.

[967] Johnstone, *A Letter, Transactions of the R.A.S.*, I, p. 540.

[968] Haig, *Cambridge History*, III, p. 378.

the Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam by Ādoṇḍa Chakravarty[969] and of the immigration of the Telugu Veḷḷālars into the Madura country in large bodies in the 15th and 16th centuries.[970]

The results that followed internal migration were: generally, as it led to a shifting of population, more land was taken up for cultivation; it led to a wider distribution of handicrafts in urban areas, and helped to break the isolation of the village.

Conclusion.

(8) SLAVERY

Existence of slavery—Classes of slaves—Imported slaves—Slave trade—Work done by slaves; their status—The Dēvaraḍiyār—Their economic position.

Slavery as an institution undoubtedly existed in South India in the middle ages. Vijñānēśvara, in his *Mitākṣarā*,[971] indeed discusses with his usual erudition fifteen kinds of slaves

Existence of slavery.

[969] The truth of this has been disputed—Baden-Powell, *The Indian Village Community*, pp. 371 ff., Munro, *Minutes*, I, p. 239, Ellis, in *Mirāsi Right*, pp. 229-61. Even if we ma[illegible]believe it, its chronology is open to criticism. The migration is said to have been not of the highest class in the social scale, but of a class of cultivators induced to settle by the grant of special privileges in the matter of tenure and the economic results of the migration are said to have been in a sense similar to those we have mentioned in instances where a group of Brahman families were placed over an alien class of tenants; for, theirs too was a super-imposition and the special privileges which they obtained in their tenure, in order to be induced to reclaim the waste land are said to have left lasting effects on the system of tenure in the country—specially in the right over waste land and in the relation between *uḷkuḍis* and *payacdrecs*. In the present state of our historical knowledge it is difficult to accept the tradition, but if true, it illustrates what consequences internal migration on a large scale might be expected to produce in the economic life of the country.

[970] Nelson, *The Madura Country*, part ii, pp. 27—30.

[971] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 182—86.

and the ways in which slaves could be freed, and cites ancient authorities and particularly Nārada to support his statements. But we are interested in knowing how far practice agreed with theory.

The existence of slavery in Vijayanagar is testified to by the travellers 'Abdu-r Razzāk, Conti and Barbosa. It would be safe to assume that it prevailed in the Dekhan from Nikitin who says there was a trade in 'black people' in Bider,[972] classing them along with 'horses, stuffs and silks.'

Classes of slaves.

An analysis of the available evidence points to the existence of the following classes of slaves in the middle ages:—

i. One born a slave:[973] "we gave to the Lord the family called Maranan—uḷḷittār.... The whole family together with their descendants shall be the family of the Lord."

ii. One purchased:[974] A stone mason, his wife and their four sons were the servants of the *maṭha* which had bought them.

iii. One received as a gift.[975]

iv. One obtained by inheritance:[976] "The whole family with their descendants shall be the family of the lord."[977]

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972 Nikitin, Major, *India*, p. 12.

973 1431 A.D., *South Ind. Inscr.*, I, 54.

974 409 of 1925; also 80 of 1913: sale of 4 women as dēvaraḍiyār to a temple for 700 *kāśu*.

975 1085 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, VII, Shimoga 10—500 slaves as a gift; see 248 of 1906, 1369 A.D.

976 About 1140 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, V, Bēlūr 219—children of female slaves.

977 1431 A.D., *South Ind. Inscr.*, I, 54.

v. One maintained during famine.[978]

vi. Slavery for debt: "They have a vast number of slaves, and the debtor who is insolvent is everywhere adjudged to be the property of his creditor."[979]

vii One acquired as a captive in war.[980]

viii. One self-sold. A *veḷḷālan* sold himself and his two daughters as slaves (*aḍimai*) to the temple. It is stated that "the time was very bad, that paddy was sold at 3 *nāḷi* for one *kāśu*, that his children were dying for want of food and that consequently himself and his two daughters borrowed 110 *kāśu* from the temple treasury and sold themselves." [981]

We thus find that of the fifteen kinds of slaves mentioned by the jurist we have evidence for eight kinds for the period under consideration[982] but there are instances of other kinds not mentioned by the jurist. One such is the sale of females accused of inconstancy, by '*Samayas*', or Vaiṣṇava religious mendicants with authority to inquire into public morals. The unfortunate women thus put up for sale were populary known as Sarkār wives. 'The rules of the system', says Wilks

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[978] 1201 A.D., 86 of 1911, *A.R.E.*, 1911, part ii, para 29; Barbosa, *An Account*, II, p. 125: In famine time they sell their children for four or five *faṇams* each.

[979] 1420 A.D., Conti, Major, *India*, p. 31.

[980] Nikitin, Major, *India*, p. 29.

[981] 1201 A.D., 86 of 1911, *A.R.E.*, 1911, part ii, para 29, Tanjore.

[982] Among the others are: one pledged by master, one won through a wager, one who has offered himself saying 'I am thine', an apostate from asceticism, one enslaved for a stipulated period, one who has married a female slave and entered into slavery. Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 181.

'varied according to the caste of the accused. ......Brahmans and Kōmaṭi females were outcasted and branded on the arm as prostitutes; ......Females of other Hindu castes were sold without any compunction'."[983] Barbosa calls attention to the custom in Malabar whereby young men who were vagrant, and had "no employ, nor father, nor mother, nor master" with whom they dwelt were forfeit to the Governor of that country; and he sold them as slaves.[984]

Imported slaves.

All these apparently refer to indigenous slaves,—from among the native population—who for some reason or other became slaves. Slaves were recruited by importation from foreign lands too, particularly after the Mahomedan invasion of the Dekhan. We are told, e.g. that in 1471 A.D. Yusuf, the minister of Muhammad Shah, gave his master large presents including one hundred slaves of Circassia, Georgia and Abyssinia, most of whom were accomplished singers and musicians.[985]

Slave trade.

There are instances also of slave trade, between Malabar and the East Coast. Barbosa says that while Coromandel "is the best supplied of all the lands in this part of India saving only Cambaya, yet in some years it so happens that no rain falls, and then there is such a dearth among them that many die of hunger, and for this reason they sell their children for four or five *faṇams* each. At such

983 1386 A.D., Rice, *A Jaina-Vaiṣṇava Compact*, *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 234 n.

984 Barbosa, op. cit., II, p. 30.

985 1467, Gribble, *A History*, I, p. 120.

seasons the Malabares bring them great store of rice and cocoa-nuts and take away ship-loads of slaves."[986]

In regard to the conception of the work done by and the status of the slave, Vijñānēśvara says that the work of the slaves was distinguished from that of other labourers by the fact that they did *impure* work. Slaves, moreover, such as one born in the (master's) house and the like, are of fifteen sorts, and perform *impure* service such as sweeping the house, the door, the impure places, the street, the dust-bins, etc.[987] According to Mādhavācārya, however, the difference between a servant and a slave consisted in the extreme[988] dependence or want of freedom of the latter. Slaves were classed along with land, jewels, and cattle in an inscription dated 1150 A.D. which deals with the right of inheritance of a married woman with no issue,[989] and in another inscription detailing taxes, slaves are classed in the same category as women's cloth, arecanut, pepper, betel leaf, salt, grain, cloth, horse and elephant, a commodity which could be purchased and sold.[990]

Work done by slaves; their status.

Impurity of the work and want of freedom were then the two characteristics which marked out a slave; it is interesting to note that the conception of impurity was extended to the property of slaves also. If they offered an insult to the better class they may administer

[986] Barbosa, *An Account*, II, p. 125.

[987] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, introduction to verse 182. *aśubha-karmakāriṇaḥ;* italics are mine.

[988] *Atyantapārārthyam*, Madhavācārya, Parāśara-Mādhava, III, p. 243.

[989] 429 and 538 of 1918, *A.R.E.*, 1919, part ii, para 19.

[990] *Ep. Car.*, X, Kōlār 70, dated 1330 A.D.

corporal punishment; the king must not fine them as their property is impure.[991] The same conception of impurity apparently prevented them from being tried before the king.[992] A slave had no power to give gifts; if he made gifts, they were invalid.[993]

It must be noted, however, that in general they were well looked after. The Nāyres cherished and protected them.[994]

Vijñānēśvara also says that if a slave rescued a master from imminent danger, he should be allowed the share of a son; and though letting him free was entirely at the option of the master, religion came in to his help. The manumission of a slave was considered an act of great merit. This was particularly so in Mahomedan law, for according to it the manumission of a slave was held to be the most meritorious of acts and the most certain means of obtaining divine favour, and on death bed also the manumission of slaves soothed the dying moments of their masters.[995]

The Dēvaraḍiyār.

The class of slaves known as Dēvaraḍiyār needs special notice. The temple became an owner of slaves in several ways. It sometimes purchased them.[996] Families dedicated

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[991]Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, introduction to verse 212.

[992]Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 99 (2).

[993]Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 176 (2).

[994]Barbosa, *An Account*, II, p. 60.
Children of female slaves were allowed to inherit property.
1297 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, I, 59, 1297 A.D.
About 1140 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, V, Bēlūr 219.

[995]Kennedy, *Muhammedan Law*, *J.R.A.S.*, II, p. 105.

[996] 499 of 1904, *A.R.E.*, 1905, part ii, para 20.

themselves to its service or were gifted away[997] and people sold themselves to the temple.[998] Barbosa refers to the interesting fact that those young widows who had not burnt themselves along with their husbands were sent to a temple. He adds: "There are some temples which have a hundred or more women of good birth in them; and some unmarried women put themselves there of their own free will. They are forced to play and sing before the idols for certain hours every day, and continue to earn money for these for most of the time left them."[999]

Epigraphical references also support the fact that temples had a large number of slaves attached to them. An inscription of 1235 A.D., gives a list of slaves both male and female, numbering more than 100 persons owned by the temple of Vīraṭṭanēśvara, having been made over to it by an order of the king, by purchase from several people and by gifts from private individuals in the 9th and 10th years of the reign of Kulōttunga III (1187-1188 A.D.).[1000] These were often branded with a *śūla* (trident) or some symbol to mark them off[1001] from other slaves, e.g. of the king who had some other distinguishing mark, e.g. *ilaiccinai* (*lāñchana*).[1002]

The work expected of the slaves was of varied kinds. Looking after the lamps, looking to the conduct of festivals, husking paddy and washing cloths, were

[997] 289 of 1910, *A.R.E.*, 1911, part ii, para 66.
[998] 86 of 1911, *A.R E.*, 1911, part ii, para 29.
[999] Barbosa, *An Account*, I, p. 216.
[1000] 223 of 1917, *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 41.
[1001] 230 of 1921, *A.R.E.*, 1922, part ii, para 19.
[1002] 141 of 1922, *A.R.E.*, 1922, part ii, para 19.

some kinds of work allotted to them.[1003] In some cases, these services might be performed in the *maṭhas* attached to the temple.[1003a]

The nature of the service done by the dancing girls in temples is described by Marco Polo:—

"They have certain abbeys in which are gods and goddesses to whom many young girls are consecrated; their fathers and mothers presenting them to that idol for which they entertain the greatest devotion. And when the [monks] of a convent desire to make a feast to their god, they send for all those consecrated damsels and make them sing and dance before the idol with great festivity. They also bring meats to feed their idol withal; that is to say, the damsels prepare dishes of meat and other good things and put the food before the idol, and leave it there a good while, and then the damsels all go to their dancing and singing and festivity for about as long as a great Baron might require to eat his dinner. By that time they say the spirit of the idols has consumed the substance of the food, so they remove the viands to be eaten by themselves with great jollity. This is performed by these damsels several times every year until they are married.

"The reason assigned for summoning the damsels to these feasts is, as the monks say, that the god is vexed and angry with the goddess, and will hold no communication with her; and they say that if peace be not established between them things will go from bad to worse, and they never will bestow their grace and benediction.

[1003] 248 of 1906, 274 of 1910, 122 of 1912, and 578 of 1916.
[1003a] 564 of 1916.

So they make those girls come in the way described, to dance and sing, all but naked, before the god and the goddess. And those people believe that the god often solaces himself with the society of the goddess.... [1004]".

Their economic position.

The economic position of the Dēvaradiyār must be considered one of utter dependence: they were not free. The work to be done by them in the temple was allotted to them and they were expected to do it well. They were no doubt maintained; sometimes even when they were dedicated to the temple, land was also provided for their maintenance;[1005] and in a few instances houses were also provided.[1006] Such a provision was made in general, when persons from well to do families dedicated themselves to the service of the god. In other instances, the temple supported the slaves. In return, however, they were expected to perform the different kinds of work alloted to them; they were not free to run away; the temple authorities were authorized to punish and bring back to service those who absconded from work.[1007]

It may be contended that the position of economic dependence was alleviated by the consciousness of

[1004] Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, pp. 345—46, in the province of Maabar. Six centuries later, Nelson says of the Dēvaradiyār in Madura:—"They are each of them married to an idol when quite young.........The female children are generally brought up to the trade of the mothers......... It is customary with a few castes to present their superflous daughters to the pagodas" (Nelson, *The Madura Country*, part ii, p. 79). According to Yule, the institution of the temple dancing-girls existed in ancient Corinth under the name of Iepo'dovroi which is nearly a translation of the Hindu name of the girls, Dēva-dāsi (Strabo, VIII, 6, 20)—Yule. in Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 351, n. 18.

[1005] 59 of 1923 and 95 of 1926.

[1006] 289 of 1910, dated 1289 A.D.

[1007] 94 of 1926.

divine service; it is even alleged that this consciousness made the women attached to the temple. "It is evident", says the Epigraphist, "that the class of Dēvaraḍiyār had not degenerated into the immoral level that it represents now in society and that ladies were dedicated for spiritual life of divine service".

This must be considered an open question: the mere fact of being branded with a *śūla* (trident) mark in token of their having been set apart for a life of service and devotion does not warrant the conclusion that all lived the life of service and devotion, and kept up a high level of moral virtue. What Barbosa tells us, that in his time women were sent to a temple "there to earn money for the said temple with their bodies",[1008] seems to leave no room for such a complacent view of things.

Morality is an individual virtue, and granting it was found largely in the life of the Dēvaraḍiyār it must still be conceded that from the economic standpoint, their position was as much one of subservience as of slaves in general.

(9) ECONOMIC CHARACTERISTICS OF THE VILLAGE

Self-sufficiency — Sometimes exaggerated — Factors which tended, in part, to break the isolation of the village.

Self-sufficiency.

The economic characteristics of the mediaeval village are usually summed up in the words 'self-sufficiency' and 'isolation'.

[1008] Barbosa, *An Account*, I, p. 216. It would be interesting to have this confirmed or disproved by other independent evidence.

Gadgil[1009] for instance puts it thus: "The Indian village on account of the difficulty of communicating with the outside world was, of course, an *almost entirely* self-sufficient unit." Put in this form, the statement is, in the main, correct. The main needs of the community were satisfied locally. The attachment to each village of a complement of village servants intended to meet the daily needs of the villagers made the village largely self-sufficient, and as pointed out above,[1010] these village servants were generally expected to take up service only in the village to which they were attached; those who engaged themselves in service beyond the village were considered "to have transgressed the law." [1011] The existence of a rule in a village that the juice of the sugar-cane grown there should be pressed out in the same place[1012] certainly points to a time when the villages were largely self-sufficient.

Sometimes exaggerated.

But this feature is sometimes stated in an extreme form, and it is implied that the village had no connexion with outside villages and towns. Says Simkins,[1013] "The Deccan village was an *entirely* closed economic and social association." Gadgil himself, seems to lose his own moderation when he says,[1014] "it (India) consisted of an immense number of *entirely* self-contained and self-supplying units with little contact with

[1009] Gadgil, *Industrial Evolution*, pp. 10 and 13; italics are mine.
[1010] supra, p. 273.
[1011] 1113 A.D., 205 of 1919, Pondicherry.
[1012] 103 of 1918, *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 69, 1482 A.D.
[1013] Simkins, *Agricultural Geography*, p. 72; italics are mine.
[1014] Gadgil, op. cit., p. 13, italics are mine.

each other." According to others, this 'characteristic definite isolation' [1015] went so far that "All the food grains, pulses and oil seeds were generally produced in the *very* villages in which they were consumed, irrespective of the kind of cultivation best suited for the village. In other words, in order to secure economic independence, economic efficiency was to a certain degree sacrificed".

Put in this extreme form, the idea of rural self-sufficiency is misleading, and it becomes necessary to utter a warning against it. The common features in villages introduced by a common system of administration, common not to the country as a whole, but to a group of neighbouring villages or a district, presuppose some amount of contact between villages.[1016] The import of articles on 300 pack bullocks to one village referred to in an inscription[1017] is not quite an exception; village fairs appear to have existed in many villages and contributed partly to break their isolation, for they imply that grain could be brought to the village from outside.[1018] The frequent mention of disputes about irrigation channels between villages[1019]

Factors which tended in part, to break the isolation of the village.

[1015] Raghaviah, *Economic Organization*, p. 47, italics are mine; see also Simkins, op. cit., p. 73.

[1016] e.g. 407 of 1923: Tax of Olaiyur ⅓ of that at Iraṭṭamangalam; 97 of 1926: comparison of weights and measures with those of other villages.

South Ind. Inscr., III, p. 476: from the citizens of Tūśiyūr "fines and faults, if any, shall be realised at the rate prevailing in Nandipuram".

[1017] 1245 A.D., 245 of 1905; see also 260 of 1905, 1358 A.D.

[1018] Fleet, *Inscriptions*, *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, X, p. 238, an example of a village fair.

[1019] 1406 A.D., 357 of 1923.

leads one at least to doubt whether villages were entirely isolated in matters of irrigation; again the effects of landholding which made it possible for an institution or an individual to hold land in more than one village had important results in establishing contacts between villages. It is necessary to stress this point, for when a temple[1020] or a *maṭha*[1020a] or an individual[1021] was allowed to hold land in different villages, the rise of certain economic bonds was inevitable: the relations between landlord and tenant, the transport of grain, the employment of labour; and these helped to break down the economic isolation of the village. The landlords of the village were inclined to adopt the rates of *mēlvāram* obtaining in adjacent villages.[1021a] Exchanges of land between individuals of different villages[1022] also suggest the same tendency. We have seen various kinds of internal migration which also suggest that points of contact were maintained between villages; and above all, the existence of constant trade in grain, firewood and grass between the country and the town, and between adjoining districts, as testified to by the accounts of tolls[1023] and by statements of travellers[1024] suggests that the isolation of the village was not as complete as has been asserted; the evidence we have pointed out supplies a necessary

1020 3 of 1898, 44 of 1906, 133 of 1909, 131 of 1912, 154 of 1925 and 154 of 1926.

1020a 35 of 1922.

1021 126 of 1900.

1021a supra, ch. II, sec. (2) iv.

1022 376, 377 and 536 of 1918.

1023 *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 19.

1024 Barbosa, *An Account*, II, p. 67.

warning against the undue stress that is apt to be laid upon the economic self-sufficiency of the mediaeval village.

This, however, introduces us to the economic life of the urban area to which we now turn.

*Note A**

THE THEORY OF DOUBLE OWNERSHIP

Note A.—The Theory of Double ownership—Arguments of Ellis—*Asvatantrāḥ*—The interpretation of *Sāmantāḥ*.

The theory of double ownership.

It is argued that the consent of the king was also necessary for alienation of land, thus implying that ownership was at once double and concurrent. I notice it here because the *Mitākṣarā* has been cited in support of this position. This, if correct, would mean that the theory of double ownership was held in the middle ages as well. Ellis, well known for his advocacy of private property, unfortunately falls into an error here which, so far as I know, has not been properly noticed or refuted. In his reply to the twelfth question addressed to him by Government, 'Is Meerasy right ever sold'? he sets himself to examine the general law with respect to the transfer of landed property. He says,

Arguments of Ellis.

'under the title *Dattāpradānikam*, subtraction of what has been given, both of the *Vijñānēśvaryam* and of the *Sarasvatīvilāsa*, among the sixteen persons who cannot give and by

*supra, p. 107.

consequence cannot sell, ... are enumerated the following in a quotation from Nārada':—

"By an infant, an idiot, one not independent, a drunkard, a madman, the gift of land is no gift (i.e. not valid—these words precede this quotation and are here understood)".

Asvatantrāḥ.

In explanation of the term '*Asvatantrāḥ,*' one not independent, the following additional quotation is made from Nārada—

Asvatantrāḥ prajāḥ sarvāḥ
Svatantraḥ prithvī patiḥ
Asvatantrāḥ Smṛtāḥ śishyāḥ:
Ācāryēṣu svatantrataḥ
Asvatantrāḥ striyaḥ putrāḥ
Dāsōyasca parigrahaḥ.
Asvatantrāḥ tatra grihī
Tasya yatsyāt kramāgatam

Those who are not independent are the whole of the people; but the Lord of the Earth is independent

. . . .

The master of the family himself is not independent, as respects that which has regularly descended from ancestors. It follows, therefore, that, as property which has descended from ancestors cannot be given, or which is the same thing, sold by the master of the family without the consent of his children; as women, sons, slaves and others, dependents of a family, cannot dispose of any property without the consent of the master of it, *so,*

also the people cannot alienate land without the consent of the Lord of it."* Thus Ellis bases his argument on his interpretation of the word '*Asvatantrāḥ*'; under the title of *Dattāpradānikaprakaraṇam,* however, Vijñānēśvara explains the word by *a person not his own master*† by *a son, a slave or the like.* Nowhere in the *Mitākṣarā* is *Asvatantrāḥ* explained in the way that Ellis, by implication, attributes to Vijñānēśvara, viz. *the whole of the people.*

That the consent of the king was required for alienation is tried to be proved by strained interpretation of another word, '*sāmantāḥ*'—which is equally untenable. Ellis quotes the oft repeated passage: 'Land is conveyed by six formalities, by the assent of townsmen, of kindred, of neighbours, and of heirs, and by the delivery of gold and water'. The third of the terms in the text is '*sāmantāḥ*'. In interpreting this word Ellis has accepted the meaning attributed to it in a commentary of the 19th century the *Tarkapañcānanīyam*:—

"By "Lord" is meant the king; his assent is required, because subjects are dependent (XV-2 this reference is to the text above quoted): in a gift of land, the assent of him by whose will it is held, and by whose favour the encroachment of others is prevented, is indeed proper". "Here it will be observed", continues Ellis, "that the third of the six descriptions of persons, required to be present to render valid the conveyance of land, is *Sāmantāḥ* which word Mr. Colebrooke in

*Ellis, *Replies*, p. 21, italics are mine.

†Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣara,* ii, 176 (2).

translating the text has rendered '*neighbours*' one of the senses it bears, while in the commentary he has twice rendered the same term by the word 'Lord', the meaning given to it by the author, who explains it by the corresponding term 'king', and which in this text it undoubtedly bears".‡

The ground on which this interpretation is justified is interesting. "The repetition of a word signifying neighbour, after *grāma, town or townsmen* has been mentioned, would be manifest tautology"—"The *Dharma Śāstram* being considered a divine revelation the commentators never allow that tautology can be inferable."§ Thus Ellis concludes: the reason of the consent of the king being necessary to the legal conveyance of immovable property is founded, according to what precedes, on the inherent dependence of the subject.||

"From the right of superiority inherent in the king and the concurrent ownership which he has in all lands cultivated by his subjects, the sale cannot be made without his consent, implied or direct."¶

In considering this argument we have first to point out that *the Tarkapañcānanīyam* is a late work, written in the 19th century and in Bengal, and it cannot be received as an authority in Southern India,—and much less for the middle ages. Ellis states, "it has equal weight with any other modern compilation: in considering this subject, I have referred chiefly to it,

‡Ellis, *Replies*, p. 23.

§Ellis, *Replies*, p. 23 n.

||Ellis, *Replies*, p. 25.

¶Ellis, *Replies*, p. 27.

because, being easily accessible, the correctness of my statements may be readily verified."** It was unfortunate that the accessibility of a book should have led the learned writer to give much weight to a commentary, which has to be utilized with some caution.

The interpretation of *Sāmantāḥ*.

To come to the correct interpretation. The whole position rests on equating *sāmantāḥ* with Lord or King. We hold that it is untenable. Let us see what Vijñānēśvara has to say on the point. Taking the same text, he comments thus:—"Consent of townsmen is required for the publicity of the transaction, since it is provided that 'acceptance of a gift specially of the immovable property should be public', but not that the contract remains incomplete without the consent of the townsmen: the consent of neighbours serves to obviate any dispute concerning the boundary".†† Thus there is no tautology in using *grāma* and *sāmantāḥ*. Vijñānēśvara unmistakably gives two different reasons why the consent of *grāma* and of *sāmantāḥ* respectively was required. The 'neighbours' obviously refers to the neighbours of the particular piece of land in question, while 'townsmen' has a wider denotation. The word *sāmantāḥ* is again used in the *Mitākṣarā*‡‡ elsewhere in the same sense. In discussing the compensation to be paid to the owner of a field when his crops are destroyed by cattle, it is said that the owner of the cattle shall be compelled to pay the

**Ellis, *Replies*, p. 21.

††*Sāmantānumatistu sīmāvipati patti nirā sāya* Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, (Text) ii, p. 200.

‡‡Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 161.

owner of the field according to the valuation determined by the *sāmantas* in this form 'From such land, the produce would be so much'; *sāmantāḥ* occurs in the same sense also in the commentary on verse 151.§§.

Thus it follows that the consent of neighbours was required, not that of the king. The theory of Double ownership implies that the king was a co-proprietor of the land and that his consent was necessary in the alienation of the land; we have shown that so far as it rests on the interpretation of the words *asvatantrāḥ* and *sāmantāḥ* it is untenable.

*Note B***

CROPS GROWN IN SOUTH INDIA IN THE MIDDLE AGES

I. *Cereals**

Wheat

Barley

Rice *pañcavāra, kuṟuvai, giracal, acal, quavagas, paccary*

Varagu

Tinai

II. *Millets*†

Jowār

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§§Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 151—*Sāmantātbhavāḥ sāmantāḥ*.

**supra, p. 182.

**Tao i chih lio*, Rockhill, *Notes*, *T'oung Pao*, XVI, p. 467.
Nikitin, Major, *India*, p. 10.
Varthema, *Travels*, p. 114.
Barbosa, *An account*, I, p. 192.
587 and 588 of 1915, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 27, 219 of 1921.

†Yule, *Cathay*, III, p. 41, Mahuan, *Account*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 344.
Ying yai shêng lan, Rockhill, *Notes*, *T'oung Pao*, XVI, p. 452.
Ep. Ind., VI, p. 232.

Millet (great)
Millet [the glutinous (*shu*) variety]
[the panicled (*chi*) variety]

III. *Pulses*‡
Peas
Chick-peas
Gram—green, black, bengal, horse, red
Black pulse
Beans

IV. *Oil Seeds*§
Gingelly
Sesamum
Castor

V. *Sugar-Cane*||

VI. *Fibres*¶
Hemp
Cotton

VII. *Dyes***
Indigo

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‡*Ying yai shēng lan*, Rockhill, *Notes*, *T'oung Pao*, XVI, p. 452.
Nikitin, Major, *India*, p. 10.
Barbosa, *An account*, I, pp. 123 and 200, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 232.

§Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 386, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 232.

||Ibn Batuta (Lee), p. 169.
Ep. Car., III, Maḷavaḷḷi 23.
Gribble, *A History*, I, p. 85.

¶Chau Ju-Kua, *Chu-fan-chī*, p. 88.
Ying yai shēng lan, Rockhill, *Notes*, *T'oung Pao*, XVI, p. 452.
Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 386.

**Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 375 and p. 381, n. 4.
Nikitin, Major, *India*, p. 19.

VIII. *Drugs*††

Lac
Bakam
Sandalwood
Myrabolan
Henna

IX. *Spices*‡‡

Aloes	Cloves
Pepper	Nutmeg
Ginger	Mace
Cinnamon	Cardamom
Cumin	Sandalwood
Mustard	Coriander

X. *Garden Crops*§§

Melon	Bottlegourd
Gourd	Betel
Turnip	Arecanut

††Al Idrīsī, Elliot, *History*, I, p. 85.
Ibn Batuta, (Lee), p. 174.
Stefano, Major, *India*, p. 5.
Ep. Ind., VI, p. 232.

‡‡Abū Zaid, Elliot, *History*, I, p. 8.
Al Idrīsī, Elliot, *History*, I, p. 90.
Ibn Batuta (Lee), pp. 169 and 174.
Schiltberger, *Bondage And Travels*, p. 61.
Ying yai shêng lan, Rockhill, *Notes*, *T'oung Pao*, XVI, p. 460.
Stefano, Major, *India*, p. 5.
Ep. Ind., VI, pp. 232—33.

§§Chau Ju-Kua, *Chu-fan-chi*, p. 96.
Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 389.
Rashīdu-d Dīn, Elliot, *History*, I, p. 68.
Jordanus, *Wonders*, pp. 21—22, and p. 21 n. 4.
Mahuan, *Account*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 347.
Ying yai shêng lan, Rockhill, *Notes*, *T'oung Pao*, XVI, p. 460.
Ep. Ind., VI, pp. 232—33.

Breadfruit	Tamarind
Brinjals	Onions
Garlic	Turmeric

*Note C**

PROCESS OF CULTIVATION AS MENTIONED IN KAMBAR'S ĒREḶUPADU

The first stanza describes how the peasants go to the astrologer and fix the most auspicious day for running their plough into the earth. Succeeding stanzas describe the various processes:—

Verse.

4 The peasant pressing the *mēḷi* in order to make deep furrows.

6–10 Yoking the bull.

20 Running the plough.

11 Making deep furrows.

13 Driving the bull whip in hand.
Levelling the earth after ploughing.

23 Creating bunds to hold the water in the field.

25 Making the soil muddy by letting in water.

26 Levelling—(so that the seeds may be properly distributed).

27 Sowing the seeds.

30 Uprooting the young plants for replanting.

32 Carrying the bunches of plants to the fields for replantation and distributing the bunches to various parts of the fields.

*Supra, p. 235.

33 Planting the seedlings, the peasants singing some song in their own way, invoking the aid of God in giving them a plentiful yield.

35 The peasants drive their pegs in the corn fields in order to make pits—for re-planting.

36 Watching, while the plants grow.

39 Watering the plants by means of well water if there is no rain water.

41 Removing the projections in the bund and making them smooth to prevent water from leading through any hole in the bund.

42 The peasants, in some cases, till the land and make it dusty and sow the seeds in the dry dust. The seeds burst out into young plants and then water from channel or by lift is supplied.*

44 The peasants feed the plants with water.

45 They remove the weeds that prevent the full growth of the paddy.

The formation of the vitamin or the vital fluid within the husk.

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*cf. Cox, *North Arcot*, p. 260, for a description of the two methods of preparation of the field for sowing, as indicated by Kambar in this stanza...... "*Puḷudi*' and '*Śēru*'. In the latter case, the land is prepared by ploughing after being flooded with water from a tank. The former *puḷudi* form is adopted when water is scarce.

The milk (the juice or the vital fluid within the husk *kadir*) solidifies and forms into thick rice.

The '*kadir*' bends on account of its weight.

50 Watching the ripe corn to see that it is not carried away by thieves, or destroyed by cattle or picked off by birds.

51 Distribution of some bundles of the ripe dry corn plants (either before the corn is separated from the plant or in some cases after it is separated), by way of charity.

52 The cut dry corn-bearing paddy-plants are tied into bundles and carried to the farm yard, and heaped up.

53 The place is prepared to spread the plants in round beds for the separation of the corn from the plants, i.e. is neatly swept, the dust is removed, the ground is washed with cowdung and '*kōlam*' is put.

54 The heaps are spread in the form of round beds, and the cattle are allowed to run over them; the corn drops off from the plants.

55 The hay is next beaten with sticks in order that the paddy which sticks to the plants might also fall down.

56 When all the corn has been taken off the hay is dried, and collected; the heap is scooped and made cylindrical with a dome-like top.

57 Folk songs are sung by the peasant out of joy at getting a good harvest—when the corn is separated from hay and the dust swept off, and when the corn is heaped and measured and packed in sacks.

59 The labourers who come first to work call their comrades to work, with the words, '*nāvalō-nāval*'.

63-64 The peasants carry baskets of corn to the granary after having winnowed and made the paddy free from dust and bits of hay.

65 Sometimes the corn is heaped in the *kaḷam* itself and hay is spread over to cover it. Then some marks are made with a stick dipped in cow-dung or '*chunam*' or some coloured water—the *polikol*.

66 The paddy is put in sacks to be carried to the granary and stored.

CHAPTER III

Towns and Internal Trade

(1) GROWTH OF TOWNS

Factors which helped the growth of towns: the temple—River—Government—Site—Pleasure resort—Commerce—Fairs—Names—Agricultural element in town life—The village and the town yet marked—Terminology—Size—Standard of comfort—Trade interests—Number—Wall.

Factors which helped the growth of towns: the temple.

The growth of towns in South India has been helped by a number of factors; a temple has often been the nucleus around which a town in course of time grew, people being attracted in large numbers to places which had become famous on account of a temple. It is interesting to know that some cities were connected with tutelary deities. Śri Virūpākṣa was the tutelary deity of the city of Vijayanagar.[1] Paḷḷikoṇḍaruḷiya-dēva was of Paḷḷikoṇḍa.[2]

River.

Vicinity to a river or sea was another advantage. Sāgar was situated on a river[3] and under the prevailing conditions of internal trade, rivers were useful channels for conveying goods from the interior to the ports. Similarly Anegundi was situated on a river, which gave its name to it : " they said that the city had its name because of it (the river Nāgundi) ".[4]

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[1] *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 22 and verse 42—1356 A.D.

[2] Hultzsch, *South Ind. Inscr.*, I, 6.

[3] Ibn Batuta (Lee), p. 164.

[4] Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 293.

Again governments have selected sites for towns on account of their administrative convenience. It is interesting to note that famous cities of this kind are connected with some legend.

Government.

The legend in connexion with the founding of Vijayanagar has it: "A hare rose up before him, (King Dēvarāya) which, instead of fleeing from the dogs, ran towards them and bit them all, so that none of them dared go near it for the harm that it did them." The hermit said that the king ought in that place to erect houses in which he could dwell, and build a city, for the prodigy meant that this would be the strongest city in the world.[5] The same story is related of Bidar, in the *Tazkarat-ul-Mulūk*[6] alleging that it was the behaviour of a hunted hare that induced Sultan Ahmad to make Bidar his capital. Another legend is that of the hidden treasure. It is said e.g. that the deity appeared to the sage Sāyaṇa in a vision and revealed to him the existence of a hidden treasure, which he, recognizing their fitness for the new task, bestowed upon the two brothers and with this money they founded the new city. "It is a strange thing", says Gribble, "that throughout the whole of Indian history we frequently find the foundation of a new city or dynasty connected with the finding of a hidden treasure......it is......possible that these hidden treasures were in reality mines, either of gold or precious stones, the existence of which was kept a profound secret".[7]

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[5]Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 299 and 300.

[6]King, *The Bahmani Dynasty*, *Ind. Ant.*, XXVIII, p. 129.

[7]1336 A.D., Gribble, *A History*, I, p. 61.

Site.

The importance which site exercised in the selection of places for the building of capitals may be illustrated from other instances. Dēvagiri was founded in 1187.[8] Muhammad Tughlak was so much pleased with the *situation* and strength of the place, and considered it to be in so much more central a position than Delhi itself, that he decided on making it the capital of his empire.[9] Again the site of Dvīpa, at the junction of the Kṛiṣṇa-vēṇī and the salt-sea, was converted into a fortress and into a city to serve as a capital;[10] and, as the inscription continues, 'the place which had been previously uninhabitable by men was converted into a city which was fit for the residence of a king, as it shone with whitewashed mansions, upstair-houses, palaces, towers, and lofty ramparts'. Other considerations which entered the foundation of a new town were undoubtedly the central position of the site and the abundance of water.[11] Quite a different reason is given for the founding of a city halfway between the Jumna and Dowlatabad. The Sultan Ahmed Shah wanted to take Dowlatabad; finding it too strong to be taken by assault, "he resolved to build himself a city nearer the fort, and,......by devastating the country around, to compel the garrison to capitulate. This led to the building of a city".[12] Some of these were built

[8]Bhandarkar, *Early History*, p. 185.

[9]Fleet, *Dynasties*, p. 78; italics are mine.

[10]*Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 91.

[11]Gribble, *A History*, I, p. 95.

[12]Gribble, *A History*, I, p. 153.

on the sites of some old Hindu town; e.g. Bijapur stands on the site of an old Hindu town, called Bichkhanhalli, and five other villages; it had also the advantage of an elevated site,[13] for it was situated about 1950 feet above the sea on the north slope of the ridge which forms the watershed of the Krishna and Bhima river.[14] Ahmednagar was strategically better.[15] Temporary encampments of kings (Paḍaivīḍu, encampment)[16] also gave rise to towns.

Pleasure resort.

Closely connected with such towns were those which arose as pleasure resorts, founded by kings. Firozeabad was built by Feroze Shah[17] as a pleasure resort. Kings also sometimes built cities in honour of their wives. Krishṇarāya built Nagallapor (Hospet) and in order to people this town he ordered all the chiefs of his kingdom to build themselves palaces therein, and so they did.[18]

It is to be noted too that such towns were often built on the model of existing ones. Ibn Batuta says[19] that his father-in-law modelled Madura on Delhi and built it carefully.

And in some instances, they were built quickly. Regarding the rapidity of construction of Bidar, we are told that it arose as if by magic.[20]

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[13]ibid., p. 140.

[14]Gribble, *A History*, I, p. 383.

[15]Smith, *History*, p. 290.

[16]Panaiyūr—a place where a camp-palace of the Cōḷa kings is known to have existed, *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 20, *South Ind. Inscr.*, I, p. 83.

[17]Gribble, *A History*, I, p. 81.

[18]Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 363.

[19]Ibn Batuta, (Defrēmery), IV, p. 200.

[20]Gribble, *A History*, I, p. 130.

Commerce.

Commerce was certainly the cause of growth of a number of towns. Many of the ports[21] come under this head. Al Idrīsī notes the towns whose growth was primarily due to foreign trade—Sūbāra, Sindān, Saimūr, Barūh.[22] The records of the travellers of the period leave the impression that the coastal district was the centre of much of the concentration of urban life. In Nellore, we are told,[23] the sea coast appears to have been the centre of most of the urban activities of the district in early days; and places like Dugarājapatnam, Tammunipatnam and Bōripēta which are now sunk to the condition of petty fishing villages should, judged by their names and considerable remains and traces of buildings still extant, have been in former days flourishing sea-coast towns.

Fairs.

Establishment of fairs also helped the growth of towns; often the founding of a town was accompanied by the establishment of a fair.[24] Some towns are called market towns i.e. *bāṇañju-vaṭṭaṇa*.[25]

Names.

The names of towns are instructive in some cases as showing their origin, Kalingapaṭaṇam, e.g., taking its name from the Kalinga kingdom.[26] Śrī-Vanapura, 'city of the forest', in

[21] Infra, Chapter V, section (4).

[22] Al Idrīsī, Elliot, *History*, I, pp. 85-87.

[23] Raghaviah, *Economic Organization*, p. 43.

[24] *Ep. Car.*, IX, Channapaṭṇa 12—1319 A.D.

[25] *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 332.

[26] Maltby, *Ganjam*, p. 95.

the Kalādgi district is referred to in an inscription,[27] evidently so named because that part of the country formed in ancient times part of a great forest called Daṇḍakāraṇya. Warangal was Ēkaśilānagari,[28] Sanskrit for *Oru-kallu* meaning '(city of) solitary rock', a prominent feature of the site of the old capital; another interpretation of the same is that it was enclosed with a stone wall (by Gaṇapatidēva) whence it was named Ēkaśilānagara—the entire stone city;[29] names of towns were sometimes taken from the names and titles of kings and ministers, e.g. Kṣatriya Śikhāmaṇipuram,[30] Anantapur from Anantarasa, the famous minister of the five founders of the empire of Vijayanagar.[31]

Agricultural element in town life.

Though the town developed trade more than the village, yet the towns, especially those which had grown from villages, retained many features of their agricultural infancy. Many towns-people owned some land which they used for garden plots and every town had considerable amounts of arable and pasture land, outside the walls or sometimes inside. We learn that between the first, second and third walls of the city of

[27] Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 20.

[28] Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, I, pp. cxxx—cxxxi.

[29] Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection*, I, pp. cxxx—cxxxi, also see Yule and Burnell, *Hobson—Jobson*, s. v. Trichinopoly, and Hemingway, *Trichinopoly*, p. 2, for the derivation of Trichinopoly from *Tiruśśilapaḷḷi* or 'holy-rock-town'.

[30] 85 of 1907.

[31] *A.R.E.*, 1926, part ii, para 37, 350 of 1926.

Vijayanagar there were cultivated fields and gardens;[32] again, 'in consequence of the excellence of the rampart the drinking-fountains gladden people there with water, even the cultivated fields, enclosed by the rampart, bring at pleasure rich crops'[33]; in Dvīpa, a city built by Nārāyaṇa, one of the attractions was that "its site was adorned with extensive gardens which teemed with various flowers and fruits; and......its glittering fields of paddy and sugar-cane were inundated by the water of brimful tanks in the neighbourhood."[34] Near Sāgar, a town on the river of the same name, Ibn Batuta found mills[35] which were worked to supply water for their orchards. The Tamil original of the conventional name Tinnevelly is Tirunelvēli, i.e., 'the sacred paddy hedge.'[36] In Vijayanagar, we are told, the king desiring to increase the city determined to bring to it a river, believing that it would cause much profit. By means of this water they made round about the city a quantity of gardens and orchards and great groves of trees and vineyards, of which this country has many, and many plantations of lemons and oranges and roses, and other trees which in this country bear very good fruit[37] and outside the city were "fields and places

[32] 'Abdu-r Razzāk, Elliot, *History*, IV, p. 107.

[33] *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 304.

[34] *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 91.

[35] Ibn Batuta (Lee), p. 164.

[36] *A.R.E.*, 1894, part ii, para 12.

[37] Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 312. Paes, (Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p 243) adds, "Between all these enclosures are plains and valleys where rice is grown, and there are gardens with many orange-trees, limes, citrons, and radishes and other kinds of garden produce".

richly cultivated with wheat and gram, rice and millet and betel".[38] These passages indicate that garden cultivation was a favourite occupation of the residents of towns; this was true of Bijapur, described as the best city in all the kingdom of the Dekhan: grape-vines, pomegranates, oranges, lemons and other kinds of garden produce were grown here.[39] Cattle-breeding was also one of the occupations of the city folk.[40]

The village and the town yet marked.

But although the town had some agricultural elements, the contrast between a city and a village was yet clearly marked. This is seen in terminology, in size, in the standard of comfort and in the trade and general economic organization of the urban area. We shall take them up in turn and thus indicate the economic characteristics of the mediaeval town.

Terminology.

The words used in contemporary evidence for localities are indicative of the difference : *grāma*—a village, *pura*—a town, *nagara* or *nagarī*—a city.[41] Ūr is distinguished from nagara.[42]

According to Mādhava, the distinctive feature of a *nagara* was that it contained a large population.[43]

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[38]Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 366.

[39]ibid., p. 353.

[40]Paes, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 259.

[41]*Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 344-47—1084 A.D. See also 263 of 1921 and *Ep. Ind.* XII, p. 331, line 26, mahāpaṭṭaṇam.

[42]315 of 1909.

[43]*Bahujana saṃkīrṇasya*, Mādhavācārya, *Parāśara-Mādhava*, III, p. 266.

Travellers also distinguish between villages, towns and cities.[44] The *Mitākṣarā*[45] distinguishes between *grāma, kharvaṭa* and *nagara*—a village, a small town and a city. Thus the space to be left between a village and its fields should be 100 *dhanus* in extent on all sides, exempt from tillage; round a small town with abundant thorny bushes, growing in continuity around it the extent of the space should be two hundred; round a city *with the concourse of an immense population,* the intervening space should be by measurement, more than 400 *dhanus.*[46] We are further told of villages being converted into towns.[47] So that we can say that the distinction between village and town was observed in the terminology applied to local areas.

The size of towns is obviously the first differentiation. As we observed, the *Mitākṣarā* would conclude

Size.

that the town was twice a village and a city four times as large; occasionally the size is indicated by the circumference of the wall, e.g. that of Warangal was 12546 yards in length.[48] Nicolo Conti estimates the circumference of the city of Vijayanagar at 60 miles: its walls were carried up to the mountains and enclosed the valleys at their foot, so that its extent was

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[44]Paes, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 237.

[45]Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 167.

[46]ibid.; italics are mine.

[47]*Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 268-69.

[48]Amīr Khusrū, Elliot, *History*, III, p. 81. Gribble (*A History*, I, p. 8) puts it also at 7 1|8 miles.

thereby increased.[49] 'Abdu-r Razzāk was equally fulsome in his praises :—Vijayanagar was exceedingly large and populous—such that eye has not seen nor ear heard of any place resembling it upon the whole earth ;[50] it appears to have had 100000 dwelling-houses.[51] The number of hamlets is also noteworthy. Cidambaram had 14.[52]

With all these, it must be said that the ordinary mediaeval town, with rare exceptions, was comparatively small when measured by modern standards.

Standard of comfort.

Towns had also better provision than villages for conveniences of life. Barūh was a large handsome town, well-built of brick and plaster;[53] in Bidrur the houses were equally well built.[54] There were certainly exceptions—for it is said that the homes of the common people in Vijayanagar were built of unsubstantial materials as they were liable to be destroyed in times of war.[55] In regard to roads, obviously they were broader in towns. Ibn Batuta was struck with Madura which he describes as a grand town with 'wide roads.' In Hospet one street was 4700 paces ($1\frac{1}{4}$ mile) long and 40 paces (45 feet)

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[49]Conti, Major, *India*, p. 6; Sewell, op. cit., p. 82.

[50]'Abdu-r Razzāk, Elliot, *History*, IV, p. 106.

[51]Paes, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 290.

[52]*A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 13.

[53]Al Idrīsī, Elliot, *History*, I, p. 87.

[54]'Abdu-r Razzāk, Elliot, *History*, IV, p. 104.

[55]Gribble, *A History*, I, p. 70.

broad, with houses all of masonry.[56] Again we read that Vijayanagar had a public bath and public eating houses.[57] As to other conveniences, Balipura had three medical dispensaries.[58] In the fourteenth century, according to Ibn Batuta,[59] Onore contained 23 schools for boys and 13 for girls.

Trade interests.

Urban life had developed to embrace trade interests within its fold—for ultimately the distinctive characteristic of the urban area could not be merely in its spatial extent or in the existence of dispensaries and schools and provision of such other conveniences of life; from the economic standpoint, the distinctive feature would seem to lie in the fact that the village was, in the main, dependent on its own production for its supplies, while the town largely required a continuous provision of the means of subsistence from without. There were various degrees of this dependence—some towns probably being on the margin, being no better than a large village—but the distinction may generally be accepted; secondly the towns had a larger population devoted to manufacture, to handicrafts not for local consumption but intended for a wider market.

Within the town, the tradesmen of each separate gild or craft had their shops close to one another.[60]

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[56] Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 363.

[57] Gribble, *A History*, I, p. 71.

[58] *Ep. Car.*, VIII, Sorab 277—1165 A.D.

[59] Cited by Yule, *Cathay*, IV, p. 24.

[60] 'Abdu-r Razzāk, Elliot, *History*, IV, p. 107.

This characteristic was kept in mind when new towns were built.

Thus we are told, when Deogir was built, it was divided into quarters each of them intended for men of the same profession. Thus there was the quarter of the troops, that of the ministers and clerks, that of the Kazis and learned men, that of the Shaikh and Fakirs and that of the mendicants and those who carried on trades. Each quarter was to contain within it everything necessary for its wants, mosques, minarets, markets, baths, mills, ovens, and workmen of every trade, including even blacksmiths, dyers and curriers, so that the inhabitants should have no necessity to resort elsewhere for buying or selling or the other requirements of life. Each quarter was to form a separate town, entirely independent of those surrounding it.[61]

This division into quarters sometimes extended to special sections for separate sects of the same community, e.g. the Śaiva and the Vaiṣṇava quarters.[62] Weavers had separate quarters built for them at Cidambaram.[63] Tanjore presents a good example: many streets of the city were named according to the profession of the people who lived in them, e.g. Sāliyatteru (weavers' quarter), villigal-teru (the

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[61]1335 A.D., Ahmad, Elliot, *History*, III, p. 575.

[62]In Prasanna Sōmanāthapura, *Ep. Car.*, III, Tirumakūḍal-Narsīpūr 98—1300 A.D.

[63]269 of 1913.

quarter of the bowmen) and gāndharva-teru[64] (the quarter of the musicians).

Evidence of the existence of a large trade in towns is found in plenty in contemporary sources; from them it appears that the alien element in the town contributed largely to the growth of the trade. From the concurrent testimony of Conti, Paes and Barbosa, we know that Vijayanagar was a centre of trade. The evidence of the last may be quoted:—"There is great traffic and an endless number of merchants and wealthy men, as well among the natives of the city who abide therein as among those who come thither from outside, to whom the king allows such freedom that every man may come and go and live according to his own creed, without suffering any annoyance and without enquiry whether he is a Christian, 'Jew,' Moor or Heathen."[65] The gate of entrance to Vijayanagar was rented out for 12,000 *pardaos* a year.[66]

The economic organization of a town of the period may well be illustrated from Belgaum of which we get some glimpse in an inscription of 1204;[67] we learn that the town had a large population of merchants: All the *Mummuri-daṇḍas* of the place of Vēṇugrāma and the *Mummuri-daṇḍas* of both (classes of) itinerant traders, comprising the merchants (*paṭṭaṇiga*) and others with

[64] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 94 and 95, and Introduction, p. 12. See also Kaccippēḍu (Conjeevaram), *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 128.

[65] Barbosa, *An Account*, I, p. 202.

[66] Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 366.

[67] *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 21, lines 46-59.

Samaya-Cakravarti Jayapati Seṭṭi at their head...... highly reputed for just acquisition (of wealth) and practice of trade, all the traders of Lāḷa (Guzerat) headed by Paraśurāma Nāyaka, Pommaṇa Nāyaka and Ammugi Nāyaka, all the Malayāḷa traders, headed by Paḍapa Nāyaka, Koṇḍa Nambi Śeṭṭi, etc., the other traders of the aforesaid place of Vēṇugrāma headed by the gold workers and clothiers, and the oil merchants made some grants.

Of goods coming into the town or going out of it, the following are mentioned: horses, oxen, buffaloes, perfumery, grass, cotton, paddy, black pepper, asafoetida, green ginger, turmeric, oil, areca-nut, betel leaf, cocoanut, palm leaf, coarse sugar, plantain, myrobalan, sugarcane and potstone; of shops, gold works, clothier's shop, cotton-shop, jeweller's-shop, perfumery-shop, perfumers' bazaar, goldsmith's booth, shop for paddy, shop for husked rice, etc.

In Vijayanagar, from the third to the seventh fortress, shops and bazaars were closely crowded together; the bazaars were very broad and long, the tradesmen of each separate gild or craft having their shops close to one another.[68] Again "you have there every evening a fair where they sell many common horses and nags and also many citrons, and limes, and oranges, and grapes, and every other kind of garden stuff."[69] In other streets, there were weekly fairs, so that a fair was held every day in different parts of the

[68] 'Abdu-r Razzāk, Elliot, *History*, IV, p. 107.

[69] Paes, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 255.

city;[70] in fact the town must have borne the outward aspect of one large market. Some have even the prefix of '*Santeya*'[71] evidently to denote their importance as a fair.

The description of Bijapur given sometime later recalls to us the same picture.[72] Bazaars 30 yards wide and two *kos* (four miles) long were full of rare goods 'such as are not seen or heard of in any other town.' "There were shops of cloth sellers, jewellers, armourers vintners, bakers, fishmongers and cooks. To give some idea of the whole bazaar I will describe a small section in detail. In the jewellers' shop were jewels of all sorts, wrought into a variety of articles, such as daggers, knives, mirrors, necklaces and also into the form of birds such as parrots, doves and peacocks, etc., all studded with valuable jewels, and arranged upon shelves, rising one above the other. By the side of the shop will be a bakers' with rare viands placed in the same manner upon tiers of shelves. Further on a linen draper's with all kinds of cloths shelved in like manner. Then a clothier's. Then a spirit merchant's with various sorts of China vessels, valuable crystal bottles, and costly cups, filled with choice and rare essences arranged on shelves, while in front of the shop were jars of double-distilled spirits. Beside that shop will be a fruiterer's filled with all kinds of fruit and sweetmeats,

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[70] Ibid., p. 256.

[71] "*Samtheya-Bāgavāḍi*," Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, *Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 304, 1204 A.D.

[72] Asad Beg, Elliot, *History*, VI, pp. 163 ff.

such as pistachio nuts and relishes, and sugarcandy and almonds. On another side may be a wine merchant's shop, and an establishment of singers and dancers".[73] Such evidence may be multiplied. The city of Koṇḍavīḍu was one—'the bazaars of which were full of merchandise'.[74] In Bidar, there was trade in horses, goods, stuffs, silks and all sorts of other merchandise.[75]

Number.

In regard to the number of towns, we have no definite data. Indications exist to show that urban life had developed. Marco Polo says "in speaking of these kingdoms we note only the capitals; there are great numbers of other cities and towns of which shall say nothing, because it would make too long a story to speak of all".[76] Similarly Nikitin tells us that between the large towns there were many small ones: "three for each day, and occasionally four; so many *kors*, so many towns." [77]

Paes also says that the whole country is thickly populated with cities, towns and villages.[78] John of Montecorvino says[79] too that the Coromandel contained many cities well-peopled. Chau Ju-kua, the Chinese author, gives the names of thirty-two towns in the Cōḷa country.[80]

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[73]Asad Beg, cited in Gribble, *A History*, I, p. 246.

[74]Hultzsch, *A Copper-Plate Grant*, *Ind. Ant.*, XX, p. 393, Krishna district—1455 A.D.

[75]Nikitin, Major, *India*, p. 12.

[76]Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 390.

[77]1470 A.D., Nikitin, Major, *India*, p. 12.

[78]Paes, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 237.

[79]John of Monte Corvino, Yule, *Cathay*, III, p. 61.

[80]For names see Chau Ju-kua, *Chu-fan-chï*, pp. 94—95.

Were the South Indian cities walled? Examples of walled as well as unwalled towns come before our view. Of the former we have Chaul, Dabul, Bijapur, Bathecala and Goa.[81] Chau Ju-Kua says[82] that they have walled cities in which the people dwell, and names thirty-two cities in Cōḷa-maṇḍalam of which one at least was built with a seven-fold wall, 100 paces distant from one another. Vijayanagar, it is well-known, had seven walls. Warangal had a wall[83] which, though made of mud, was considered so strong 'that a spear of steel could not pierce it'; it appears that at the height of its prosperity, it had also an inner wall of stone.[84]

Wall.

The town of Viḻiñam is described as having strong and high walls—in the exaggerated language of the inscription[85]—'which rub against the inner part of the receding sky, rise so high that the sun has to retire in his course'. The Vikrama-Cōḷan-ulā[86] describes the town of Kañjam as having high walls which pierced the clouds. Rachol had three lines of strong walls[87] of heavy masonry made without lime. In the *Periya-purāṇam,* we have a vivid description[88] of the foundation of the city of Kāñci, which was walled.

[81]Varthema, *Travels*, pp. 113 and 119.

[82]Chau Ju-Kua, *Chu-fan-chï*, pp. 94—95.

[83]Amīr Khusrū, Elliot, *History*, III, pp. 80—81.

[84]Gribble, *A History*, I, p. 8.

[85]Venkayya, *Madras Museum Plates, Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 73.

[86]Kanakasabhai Pillai, *Tamil Historical Texts, Ind. Ant.*, XXII, p. 149.

[87]Nuniz, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 331.

[88]Sēkkiḻār, *Periyapurāṇam*, I, 417, referred to in *Q.J.M.S.*, XVIII, p. 272.

Sometimes the wall was built of mud; we have noticed the instance of Warangal; in some cases the kings allowed the towns to be surrounded only with earthen walls, for fear of their becoming too strong except where a city was situated at the extremity of their territory.[89]

Walls were sometimes later additions—probably when menace was felt. Lest the town should suffer harm, the king ordered a rampart to be built for its protection.[90]

The purpose of the wall was obviously to give protection to the inhabitants of the town, but whether it also served as a place of refuge for the people of the surrounding rural areas seems doubtful, with the evidence we have. In mediaeval Europe, the town was above all a *burg,* i.e. a place fortified with walls and moats which served as a refuge and shelter for the inhabitants of the unprotected places round about,[91] and it devolved upon them to co-operate in maintaining intact the town fortifications by furnishing workmen and horses and in time of war in defending them with their arms.

Of towns with no walls, we may mention Cannanore, Calicut and Negapatam.[92] According to Varthema,[93]

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[89] Paes, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, pp. 237—38.

[90] *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 303.

[91] Bücher, *Industrial Evolution*, p. 116; see also pp. 373 ff.

[92] Varthema, *Travels*, pp. 124, 136, 186.

[93] Varthema, *Travels*, pp. 111—13. Yule and Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, S. V. Jogee.

the country of the king of the Joghes had no walled place, and this latter has been identified with the West Coast.

(2) THE ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION OF THE TOWN

i. *The Caste-gild; Its General Nature*—The caste-gild—Its implications: sameness of occupation—Birth—was it a unifying factor?—*Jāti*—Examples of change of occupation—Caste and gild—Certain misconceptions removed: i. *Mahāsabhā*?—ii. Weber's view—iii. Connexion with merchant gild—The chief gilds—Legend of origin—Necessity for formation of the gild—Status of the gild—Bonds of Unity: locality—Privileges secured—Gifts—Other common agreements: redistribution of land—Surety—Sanction.

ii. *The Merchant Gild: General Considerations*—Terms used—Principal communities engaged in trade—Bonds of unity: 1. locality—2. Trade in the same kind of goods—3. Leader—4. Membership of religious bodies—5. Collective action: i. Gifts—ii. Land holding—iii. Collective bargaining—iv. Disposal of property—6. Sanction.

iii. *Three Gilds of Importance*—1. Ayyāvoḷe—Analysis of evidence—Character of the gild—Language of the inscriptions—Points of common agreement—Religion and trade—Headquarters—Various sects; federation of trading communities—Conception of Eṛivīrapaṭṭaṇa—Common bonds: protection of grants and declaring towns Eṛivīrapaṭṭaṇa—Paṭṭaṇasvāmin—Grants to tanks and temples—Mutual aid societies—2. Maṇigrāmam, a merchant gild—Area of its activities—Period of its activities—Membership—Privileges obtained—Control over customs: evidence of a Travancore inscription—3. Añjuvaṇṇam.

i. *The Caste-gild: Its General Nature*

The caste-gild.

The economic organization of the urban area centred round what we may term *caste-gild,* which embraced within its scope, not only the strictly technical but also the religious, the artistic and the economic activities of a group in mediaeval society. In the first place it is necessary to explain the conjunction of the terms 'caste' and 'gild'. Caste is a social institution into which an individual is born and it is usually associated—though with doubtful accuracy—with the idea of the traditional four castes of India, viz., Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya and Śūdra. The gild in mediaeval Europe implied a free or voluntary association into which a man entered by his own choice, the membership being generally restricted to a profession within a certain restricted area. The caste-gild partook of the characteristics of the first in that it was *in practice* birth which *in the main* determined who belonged to the gild at any particular time; but it differed from it in that it had no necessary connexion with the four-fold division of Hindu society, and in the fact that birth in a social hierarchy did not *determine exclusively* its membership; it partook of the characteristics of a gild in that the members who belonged to it followed the same occupation and obeyed the common regulations, but it differed from it in that most of its members by birth belonged to one and the same caste, and followed a traditional, hereditary occupation.

What is implied is that the membership and collective activities of a gild were ordinarily matters settled by two considerations: i. occupation and ii. birth. In theory, the distinguishing mark of a gild was undoubtedly the sameness of occupation. This is brought out clearly in the definition of a gild by Vijñānēśvara in his *Mitākṣarā*:—

Its implications: sameness of occupation.

He defines *śrēṇayaḥ*:[94] gilds of persons earning their *livelihood by the same kind of labour* though belonging to different castes or to the same caste, e.g. of the dealers in cattle, betel, the weaver and the currier. The bond of union in the gild was the fact that members followed the same occupation.

But how far was birth a unifying factor in the gild? i.e. were all or most members of the gild also bound together by the fact they were *born* in the same social division? From the theoretical standpoint, the position of the *Mitākṣarā* does not appear to admit of doubt: though belonging to *different castes*[95] is expressly added.

Birth—was it a unifying factor?

Stated thus the position seems fairly simple: the membership in the gild was open to members of different castes. But when we inquire what was meant by caste, the position is admittedly not so simple. Let it be noted then, first that Vijñānēśvara's term, which we have for

[94] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 30. *Śrēṇayaḥ nānājātīnāmēkajātīya-karmōpajīvinām samghātāḥ ēkapaṇyaśilpōpajīvīnaḥ śrēṇayaḥ*, ii, 192.

[95] *Nānā jātīnām*, ibid.

convenience translated as caste is *jāti;* second that the jurist only says, 'though belonging to different *jātis';* he does not, thereby define *jāti,* or tell us what is the distinctive feature of a *jāti.*

Jāti.

Two questions present themselves for solution:

i. What is *jāti?*

ii. What is the difference, if any between *jāti* and *varṇa,* and can either be equated with caste?

The answers to these questions are of importance, because in literary usage, there are or have been only four fundamental *varṇas* in Hindu society—the Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra, and it is found difficult to conceive the idea that members belonging to these different divisions of society could have formed members of the same gild, especially because, as will be seen later, the activities of gilds included social regulation.

The difficulty is real. To the student of history, it is not less, though Vijñānēśvara himself differentiates *jāti* from *varṇa.* According to him *varṇa* means the four-fold division of society into Brāhmaṇa, Kṣatriya, Vaiśya, Śūdra.[96] But *jāti* is clearly not the same in significance as *varṇa,* for, in the commentary on *Ācārādhyāya,* he restricts[97] the term *jāti* to certain mixed castes, of whom there were two main divisions, the *anulōma* and the *pratilōma.*

[96] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā,* i, 1, ii, 183 (2) and 206 (2).

[97] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā,* i, 90—96.

Logically, therefore, it would seem to follow, that in his definition of the *śrēṇi*—the vocational gild—as gilds of persons earning their livelihood by the same kind of labour, though belonging to different *jātis,* he meant by *jāti,* the mixed caste and not the four original *varṇas.* No other position seems to be tenable, if we are to attribute consistency to the great jurist.

Does this then imply that the gild was open only to members of the mixed caste who followed the same occupation? The answer to this question is certainly difficult, though one cannot deny it is fundamental to a clear understanding of the position of the gild in the economic life of mediaeval society. The difficulty is not lessened by the fact that we have abundant evidence to show that members of the different *varṇas* did practise occupations not allowed to them by the writers on Hindu law or allowed only under exceptional circumstances. The *Mitākṣarā* itself speaks of *dvijas* who carried on the occupation of cowherds, traders[98] and mechanics. There were Brahman officers and merchants,[99] others lived by their own property and cultivation and the fruits which grew in their inherited grounds. Inscriptions similarly mention Brahman soldiers[100] and Brahman doctors.[101]

Examples of change of occupation.

[98] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā,* ii, 73 (1), 74 and 75.

[99] Paes, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire,* p. 245.

[100] 1286 A.D., 47 of 1906, 52 of 1905, *A.R.E.,* 1905, part ii, para 29.

[101] *A.R.E.,* 1914, Copper-plate, 2—1467 A.D.

Similarly members of the lower *varṇas* also are found to have been soldiers: goldsmiths and barbers are found in the army.[102]

The crucial question arises: where a Brahman, e.g., followed the occupation of a *mechanic*, would he join the gild of mechanics? If our answer is in the affirmative, we cannot possibly account for Vijñānēśvara's clear use of *jāti*, (and not *varṇa*) in his description of the gild; if our answer is in the negative, we shall have to admit that the same gild did not consist of members of the different *varṇas*, but only members of the different mixed castes who followed the same occupation.

We are admittedly in a region where evidence is lacking; no lists of members of gilds as are available to the student of the mediaeval European gild have come down to us. But the suggestion may be ventured that the solution lies in understanding the full connotation of the term *jāti*, and noting at what point it agrees with *varṇa*. *Varṇa* certainly was applied to the four original divisions and *not* applied to the mixed castes; *jāti* was applied to the mixed castes, but could it also have been applied to indicate, in a broader sense, the mixed castes as well as the four original *varṇas*? If it could be shown that *jāti*, in a narrower sense taken to denote the several mixed castes, in a broader sense was generally used to include all who were born in the same social division, whether mixed castes or the four original *varṇas*, Vijñānēśvara's use of the term would

[102] *Ep. Car.*, VII, Honnāḷi 98—1166 A.D.

be justified, and then may the gild be taken to include members of the different *varṇas* as well.

Such a piece of evidence is furnished by the clear definition of *jāti* in the Sūta Samhita:—

Sarvēṣām janmanā jātiḥ
Nānyathā karma kōṭibiḥ
Paśvādīnām yathā jātiḥ
Janmanaiva na cānyathā.

A *jāti* or birth is by being born, and not by any other process. A cow is born as such and not made. *Jāti* thus represents a physical fact. The distinguishing feature of a *jāti* is therefore birth in the same social division.

Thus *jāti* is hereditary i.e. every man is and must remain of the *jāti* into which he is born and this is true even if he should leave the special occupation which is the traditional mark of his *jāti*. As Oldenberg puts it[103] pointedly, " The Brahman might, as economic necessity often enough made him, carry on other than a priestly profession; he might become a cultivator, a butcher or a thief: then he was perhaps treated with contempt, but he remained a Brahman".

Jāti therefore had an extended connotation; and, properly speaking, the *varṇa* could itself be described as a *jāti*—though the converse was not necessarily true. This position is indeed supported by Vijñānēśvara himself and is supported by present day usage—*Brāhmaṇa-jāti, vaṇṇān-jāti,* etc., the former is a refe-

[103] Oldenberg, *The Indian Caste-System, Ind. Ant.*, XLIX, pp. 224—25.

rence to the *varṇa,* the latter to a mixed caste according to the *Mitākṣarā.*

We conclude therefore that Vijñānēśvara's use of the term *jāti,* in describing the membership of a gild, was not intended to exclude the members of the original *varṇas* as such from the vocational gild.

Caste and gild.

Our next point is equally important: while gilds were certainly open to members of different castes—as proved both by literary and inscriptional evidence, they largely consisted of those who had been born into one caste. A weaver's gild, therefore, would be open to all who followed the vocation of weaving. A smith's son if he took to weaving was not excluded from thè gild; but in practice it largely consisted of members who had been born into the caste which had been allotted the vocation of weaving and the reason may be looked for in the tendency to follow the father's trade.

Sulaimān,[104] at the beginning of our period, notes that in all these kingdoms he had seen, the profession never went out of the caste. Towards the end of the period, Barbosa also notes that the washermen of Malabar washed the clothes of the Nayres, and "their sons must perforce follow the same trade".[105] The Ageres are masons, carpenters, smiths, metal workers, and some are goldsmiths all of whom are of a common descent and a separate caste. They marry and their

[104] Sulaimān, Elliot, *History,* I, p. 6.

[105] Barbosa, *An Account,* II, pp. 61 and 63.

sons inherit their property and learn their father's trades. Perhaps the best example of the influence of heredity in the choice of occupation is an inscription[106] dated the 48th year of Tribhuvanacakravartin Kulōttunga-Cōḷadēva which defines the occupations for a whole caste, called the Rathakāras. The following means of livelihood were laid down for adoption by them:—

(1) Architecture,

(2) Building coaches and chariots,

(3) Erecting *gōpuras* of temples with images on them,

(4) Preparation of instruments required by the Brāhmaṇas in their sacrificial ceremonies such as the ladle (*sṛuk*), etc.

(5) Building *maṇḍapas.*

(6) Making jewels for kings such as diadems, bracelets, etc.; the inscription is also interesting in that such fixing of occupations for the caste was done by the high-caste Brahmans on the strength of previous authorities such as Yājñavalkya, Gautama, Kauṭilya, Bōdhāyana and others.

Thus it seems to be supported by evidence that ordinarily the membership of the individual in a gild was largely a matter of birth in a caste following the

[106] 479 of 1908, *A.R.E.*, 1909, part ii, para 45.

same occupation, though it was open to, and did include, members of other castes who followed the same calling.

That such a state of things continued far down to the 19th century is shown by Birdwood[107] who remarks, "The trade gilds of the great polytechnical cities of India are not, however, always exactly coincident with the sectarian or ethnical caste of a particular class of artisans. Sometimes the same trade is pursued by men of different castes, and its gild generally includes every member of the trade it represents without *strict* reference to caste".[108]

The connexion between the caste and the gild is thus clear: The gild consisted usually of persons of the same ethnic and sectarian caste, but when the same trade was pursued by men of different castes, as sometimes happened, the gild would include all without reference to caste.

This conception of the relation between the *jāti* and the gild should remove certain misconceptions about the nature of the gild to which we may briefly refer:—

Certain misconceptions removed: i. *Mahāsabhā*?

i. Rādhā Kumud Mookerji says: As regards the terms used for such local bodies, the South Indian inscriptions invariably use two terms, viz. *mahāsabhā* and *sabhā,* indicating respectively the general or the greater assembly and the smaller and subordinate committee

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[107] Birdwood, *Industrial Arts*, p. 138; italics are mine.

[108] See also Coomaraswamy, *The Indian Craftsman*, p. 67, for the same position early in the twentieth century.

of the larger body, while the *corresponding* terms used in the northern inscriptions are *śrēṇi*, *nigama* and *nigama-sabhā*. Thus Mookerji equates *śrēṇi* with *mahāsabhā*. He obviously loses sight of the fact that the distinctive feature of the *śrēṇi* was the sameness of vocation of its members,[109] while *mahāsabhā* was[110] a village assembly, the distinctive feature of which was association of persons by tie of neighbourhood, more equivalent to the *pūga* of the *Mitākṣarā*:[111] *pūgāḥ*, corporations i.e. of men (though) belonging to different castes and (following) different occupations, but residents of the same place e.g. of a city, town, etc.

ii. Weber's view.

ii. It has been remarked[112] by a distinguished writer that where castes existed, there were no gilds outside of them and that none were needed, "for it is a feature of the caste system that every type of labour service is assigned to a special caste"—a remark which cannot obviously be sustained in the light of the evidence cited above.[113] But in fairness to Weber it may well be worth pointing out that so far as the craftsman in the village was concerned, his statement may be accepted, for the gild organisation seems to have been largely confined to the cities.[114]

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[109]Vide Mookerji, *Local Government*, p. xvi, Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, cited above, supra, p. 358.

[110]supra, p. 138.

[111]Vide Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 30.

[112]Weber, *Economic History*, p. 137.

[113]supra, p. 363.

[114]Coomaraswamy, *the Indian Craftsman*, p. 67.

iii. We may point out that the merchant gild, as such, was not of a different species from the craft-gild or *śrēṇi;* it was only an association of those who took to the occupation of trade—in the words of the *Mitākṣarā*, the '*karma*' of trade just as those who took to the occupation of weaving formed the gild of weavers. Vijñānēśvara himself is clear on this point as may be seen from the examples he gives of *śrēṇis* of the dealers in cattle, betel, the weaver and the currier. The point becomes clearer when we remember that the craftsman himself does not appear to have been prohibited from selling the commodities he made. The workers produced articles in their homes and sold them in their own villages or in the fairs near by; there were also certain communities who followed exclusively the profession of trading, in particular trading with other parts of the country, and they joined together in associations for the protection of common interests. For convenience of treatment, however, we may first take up the gilds devoted to the manufacture of the same commodity—the craft gild, and then take up those mainly engaged in trade—the merchant gild.

iii. Connexion with merchant gild.

Of craft gilds we have evidence of the following:—

The chief gilds.

(1) The vīrapañcāḷas, including among them goldsmiths (*akkasāliga*) and coiners (*kamma-tada ācārigaḷ*) blacksmiths (*kammāra*) carpenters and masons.[115] Elsewhere

[115] *Ep. Car.*, IV, Chāmarājnagar 119, 1398 A.D. *Ep. Car.*, IX, Bangalore 12.

they were known by the name of *kaṇmāḷar*;[116] each group of artisans, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, etc., also finds[117] separate mention. In one inscription,[118] however, six classes of artisans are referred to. (2) weavers.[119] (3) oilmongers.[120] (4) *kaikkoḷar.*[121] (5) gardeners.[122] (6) stone-cutters.[123] (7) braziers,[124] (8) rope-makers,[125] (9) jewellers,[126] (10) potters,[127] (11) basket-makers,[128] (12) mat-makers.[129] (13) toddy-drawers,[130] (14) tailors.[131]

Legend of origin.

It is worth while noting that the vīra pañcāḷas or *kaṇmāḷars,* who seem to have been well organized, had a legend of their origin—and an inscription repeats this.[132] It is said that Viśvakarma, the son of Brahman, was the progenitor of the architects and was the father-in-law of the Sun. This Viśvakarman is stated to have con-

[116] 98 of 1907.

[117] *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 333.

[118] *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 362, 1259 A.D.

[119] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 190, 421 of 1905, 136 of 1912.

[120] 261 of 1909, *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 23.

[121] 248 of 1916, 454 of 1916.

[122] *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 279.

[123] *Ep. Ind.*, XII, p. 333.

[124] ibid.

[125] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XI, p. 273.

[126] *Ep. Car.*, V, Bēlūr 117.

[127] 524 of 1906.

[128] *Ep. Ind.*, V, p. 23.

[129] ibid.

[130] ibid.

[131] *Cippiga-goṭṭaḷigaḷu, Ep. Car.*, V, Bēlūr 236—1139 A.D.

[132] 575 of 1909, XIIth Century, *A.R.E.*, 1910, part II, para 60,

verted the rays proceedings from the Sun, his son-in-law, into divine weapons such as the discus of Viṣṇu, etc. Some famous *ācāryas* of the Viśvakarma family are enumerated and are represented to have been "experts in cutting liṅgas (of Śiva) in preparing images, in understanding the proper place of the latter (in Indian Iconography), in building the four kinds of mansions (*prāsāda*) and their innumerable sub-divisions, in grasping the geometry (*kṣētra*) involved in the study of the *vāstu*—[*śāstra*] (architecture) and in gracefully handling the implements of their profession." And even now they trace their ancestry to the five sons of Viśvakarma, of whom the first-born, Manu, worked in iron; the second, Maya, in wood; the third, Tvastram, in brass, copper, and alloys; the fourth, Silpi, in stone; and the fifth, Viśvajña, was a gold and silversmith and jeweller.[133]

This illustrates how the industrial classes were anxious to invent some mythological origin for themselves. So also it is said of the weavers that they were the offspring of a Brahman with a Vaiśya woman and that as authorized by the *āgamas* and smṛtis they had the privilege of weaving and supplying clothes to temples and kings.[134] A legendary account of the origin of the weavers is also contained in a manuscript in the Mackenzie collection. According to it Devānga was an emanation from the body of Sadāśiva, when that

[133]Coomaraswamy, *The Indian Craftsman*, p. 56.

[134]208 of 1919.

deity anxiously meditated how the newly created races of beings in the three divisions of the universe were to be clothed. The Muni, being thus born, received from Viṣṇu the fibres of the stem of the lotus that grew from his navel, and being supplied with a loom and other materials by the Demon Māya, he fabricated dresses for all the gods, the spirits of heaven and hell, and the inhabitants of the earth. ....Devānga had three sons by the daughter of Sūrya and one by the daughter of Śēṣa: the latter conquered Surāṣtra: the former succeeded their father at Amodapur, when they were attacked by a number of combined princes, overthrown and reduced to a miserable condition, in which they were glad to maintain themselves by the art of weaving, which they had learned from their father, and this gave rise to the caste of weavers.[135]

Necessity for formation of the gild.

The necessity for the formation of such gilds is perhaps stated best by Mādhava, the fourteenth century jurist. He says[136] "At the time when some harm occurs to the *grāma,* companies of artisans, the Pāṣaṇḍas and the Naigamas, as well as in good time when *dharma* is performed, the removing of the danger as well as the performance of *dharma* are not possible without all agreeing to one course of action. Therefore let all

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[135] Wilson, *The Mackenzie Collection,* I, p. 94—V—Devānga Cheritra Palm leaves—Telugu Character.

[136] Mādhavācārya, *Parāśara-Mādhava,* III, p. 248.

agree to one course of action and act accordingly." It is also seen from the *Mitākṣarā*[137] that the gild was given a recognised legal status, for we are told that the *śrēṇis* could act as law courts to decide cases; they could be utilized as courts of appeal from the *kulas,* though appeals lay from the decisions of the *śrēṇis* to the higher courts like *pūgas.* Again[138] we learn that the rules governing *śrēṇis* were expected to be written down, for it is said that in determining rules laid down for *pūgas, śrēṇis, gaṇas* and other trades the evidence to be adduced was writing; further, we are told, in the association, the directions given by those who were competent to advise as to the interests of the association, should be followed by others who were incorporated as members; and such of those who acted contrary to the directions were to be punished.[139] That such representatives were accustomed to wait upon the king on behalf of the association is clear from the same author;[140] but that the representatives should not misappropriate the collective property is laid down by Mādhava.[141] He says that any one who misappropriated the collective property was to be sent out of the country.

Status of the gild.

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[137]Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 30.

[138]ibid., 22.

[139]ibid., 188.

[140]ibid., 189, 190, 191.

[141]Mādhavācārya, op. cit., III, p. 251: *Yastu mukhyaḥ samūha dravyādikam apaharati.*

Bonds of unity: locality.

The bonds of unity among the members of a gild were of varied character, the common occupation being only one of them. First there was the tie of locality. Members of the same gild lived more or less in the neighbourhood, not necessarily within the limits of a town. Thus we read,[142] "the oilmongers of Kāñci and its suburbs and those of the 24 *nagaras* met in the temple and decided" etc.; here, apparently, the gild of oilmongers was spread in and around Kāñcīpuram; the carpenters, blacksmiths, goldsmiths and all the vīra-pañcāḷas of the four nāḍs, etc. met.[143] On the other hand we have also examples of gildsmen of the town alone meeting together.[144] Whether membership of the gild extended beyond the limited area of the town in all cases, it is difficult to say from available evidence, but it may be said that the more the *śrēṇi* coincided with the caste, the greater the possibility of the membership expanding beyond the bounds of the town.

Within the towns, however, the fact of particular streets being marked out for particular professions emphasized the unity of the profession and the members of the gild. In Tanjore e.g. we read of śāliyatteru, villigaḷ-teru, gāndharuvar-teru, etc.[145] It was also true of Vijayanagar.[146]

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[142]261 of 1909.

[143]*Ep. Car.*, IX, Doḍ-Ballāpur 52—1306 A.D.

[144]*Ūr oḷagana—Śeṇiyaru*, *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 40.

[145]*South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 94—95.

[146]1442, 'Abdu-r Razzāk, *Elliot History*, IV, p. 107.

Another bond of unity arose from the attempt to secure some privileges for the body of its members.

Privileges secured.

These privileges, as they have come down to us, were, in the main, social. An inscription records[147] a royal charter granted to the *kaikkōḷas* of the kingdom entitling them to the honour of *taṇḍu* (palanquin) and conch-shell (bugle), in response to their representation at Kāñcīpuram. Similarly the artisans of Vengāḷa-nāḍu got the following charter from the king:—

"We have ordered that from the month of Āḍi of the 15th (*year of our reign*), at your marriages and funerals, double conches may be blown and drums, etc., beaten, that sandals may be worn (*on the way*) to places which you have to visit, and that your houses may be covered with plaster. On the authority of this written order (*ōlai*), this may be engraved on stone and on copper in (*all*) places desired by you, so as to last as long as the moon and the sun."[148]

It is quite an interesting fact that imitation was a factor in inducing the artisans of a place to ask for such privileges. Thus[149] an agent of the Tuḷuva general bestowed on the weavers the right to have *daṇḍu* and *śangu* on all good and bad occasions as the ***weavers of the country*** situated on the bank of the Peṇṇai river

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[147] 422 of 1925.

[148] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 25.

[149] 368 of 1917, *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 70.

were privileged to have. Again[150] the kaikkōḷas of Brahmadēśam were granted the privilege of using *daṇḍu,* and *śangu,* as their insignia on the model of the kaikkōḷars of Conjeevaram who were enjoying these privileges.

Other privileges of the sort secured collectively were permission to build two storeys for their houses, to have double doors, to decorate the outside of their houses with garlands of water lilies,[151] and the freedom to live in the street without fear!

An example of the same kind, of the eleventh century, comes from the Telugu districts. The *Telikis* of the Telugu districts are stated to have been sub-divided into a thousand families (*Teliki-vēvuru*), and to have received certain honorary privileges from Cōḍa-Ganga, the then king of the Telugu country.[152]

The potters also gained a charter.[153]

Other privileges obtained by gilds also touched on economic matters. Thus the *kaikkōḷas* seem to have obtained a charter from a mahāmaṇḍaleśvara by which the fines imposed on them for faults, annoyance, theft, adultery etc. were remitted, and half a *gadyāṇa* was fixed as the amount to be paid by those who kept cows

[150] See 162 of 1918, *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 68, 473 of 1921, 41 of 1922, 186 of 1910.

[151] 136 of 1905, 151 of 1905, *A.R.E.*, 1905, part ii, para 43, 454 of 1916.

[152] *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 334 ff; *A.R.E.*, 1912, part ii, para 72.

[153] 524 of 1906.

and all cows that came were allowed to graze freely.[154] Exemption from vexatious tolls[155] and taxes[156] was gained in other instances. Even a matter relating to the wages received was settled by collective bargaining: 'Within the kingdom that we are ruling, in all the sacred places, and in places granted to ministers, favourites,......and in the great houses of Śiripura,—in all these, all members of the vīra-pañcāḷa will obtain pay according to the regulations of their vaḍippaṇa of Pañca-kārukahaḷa for Cokkappa's tank, and receive at that rate."[157] In another instance[158] the *śāliyar* successfully bargained for a privilege to be provided with land for building their houses on condition that they would supply the necessary cloths for the *pariśaṭṭam* of the god and the goddess.

Gifts.

If the gilds were prepared to act collectively to obtain privileges for themselves, they also acted collectively in making gifts, and by far the larger number of their common agreements relate to the gifts which they made to temples and institutions of charity. The oilmongers of Kāñci[159] making some contribution to the temple for offerings is an example; the rate of contribution might be fixed[160]

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[154] *Ep. Car.*, IV, Chāmarājnagar 97—1370 A.D.

[155] *Ep. Car.*, X, Bowringpet 72.

[156] 118 of 1897.

[157] *Ep. Car.*, IX, Kānkānhaḷḷi 110—1306 A.D.

[158] 308 of 1913.

[159] 261 of 1909.

[160] *Ep. Car.*, IV, Chāmarājnagar 119—1398 A.D.

at so much per individual; the rate might be fixed so much per loom in the case of weavers[161] or they might agree to meet the cost of some offerings collectively as when the *vāṇiyar* of Śuttamallipperunderuvu agreed to burn two perpetual lamps[162] or might agree to pay one lump sum.[163]

Other common agreements: redistribution of land.

Privileges and gifts apart, the gilds had other common agreements to make; these obviously differed from locality to locality and from time to time according to needs. We may note, for example, how the weaver class the *śāliyanagarattār* at Tiruppālatuṟai agreed to a periodical redistribution of the lands of the village;[164] they might make bargains or agreements with the temple authorities;[165] again the members of the gild stood surety for their brethren. The manner in which the shepherds as a gild bound themselves jointly as security for an individual contractor is a characteristic of true gild methods. In an inscription of Rājēndra-cōḷadēva at Tanjore we have a detailed account of this acceptance of responsibility by the gild of shepherds. 'We', runs the inscription, 'all the following shepherds of this village...... agreed to become security for Ēṟan Śāttan, a shepherd of this

Surety.

[161] 248 of 1916, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 28.

[162] 52 of 1927.

[163] 136 of 1912—1064 A.D.

[164] 441 of 1912—Kulōttunga-Cōḷadēva III, 12th year.

[165] 242 of 1906.

village, (who) had received ninety ewes of this temple, in order to supply ghee for burning one perpetual lamp. •(We) shall cause the shepherd Ēṟan Śāttan to supply daily to one perpetual lamp (one) *uḻakku* of ghee......... If he dies, absconds, or gets into prison, fetters (or) chains, we, all these aforesaid persons, are bound to supply ghee for burning the holy lamp as long as the sun and moon endure".[166]

Thus gilds were powerful forces in deciding matters of common importance and as mutual aid societies. We can also infer that the gilds set standards of work on the part of members. The question, however, still remains, what was the sanction behind for enforcing the decisions of the gilds. The *Mitākṣarā*[167] no doubt enjoins on the king the important duty of preserving 'their peculiar rules of conduct'; but a far more effective sanction lay in what we may term social ostracism. Striking examples are supplied by instances from Tavancore[168] Mysore,[169] Bangalore,[170] etc. One of these is interesting, as it says that from the houses of persons who have transgressed the regulations laid down in the inscriptions, *bhikṣā* should not be taken! We must say, however, that such methods of social ostracism

Sanction.

[166] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 18.

[167] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 192.

[168] *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, 49.

[169] *Ep. Car.*, IV, Guṇḍlupēt 34.

[170] *Ep. Car.*, IX, Hoskōṭe 103.

were effective in the case of members of the same caste, but how the same could apply effectively in the case of those members of the gild who did not belong to the same caste, we are not told. The practice[171] with reference to gilds in Ahmedabad, and of a later date, may be cited though we are unable to say from evidence whether it was acted upon in the period under consideration:—

"The decisions of the gilds are enforced by fines. If the offender refuses to pay, and all members of the gild belong to one caste, the offender is put out of caste. If the gild contains men of different castes, the gild uses its influence with other gilds to prevent the recusant member from getting work."

ii. *The Merchant Gild: General Considerations.*

Terms used.

The terms used in the inscriptions to denote associations of merchants are many—the ubhaya-nānādēśi,[172] the baṇajigas,[173] the vaḷañjiyar of the eighteen countries,[174] dēśi, nānā-deśi, the nāḍu, nagara,[175] the Maleyāḷas,[176] the vaiśya-vāṇiya-nagarattār,[177] the Pāṇḍya-nāḍina-śeṭṭi-yar,[178] the vaiśyas,[179] the nagara, taṇḍa, the mummuri-

[171] *Imperial Gazetteer*, V, p. 101.
[172] *A.R.M.*, 1919, p. 33. *Ep. Car.*, V. Arkalgūḍ 68—1357 A.D.
[173] *A.R.M.*, 1925, 89—1466 A.D.
[174] *Ep. Car.*, I, 8, 1371 A.D.
[175] *Ep. Car.*, II, 327—1181 A.D.
[176] *Ep. Car.*, V, Bēlūr 89—1280 A.D.
[177] *Ep. Car.*, IX, Hoskōṭe 50—1379 A.D.
[178] *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dāvaṇagere 59—1280 A.D.
[179] *Ep. Ind.*, VI, p. 223.

taṇda,[180] nagara-mummuri, samasta nakhara mummuri-taṇḍa,[181] javaras, gātrigas, śeṭṭis, śeṭṭiguttas, anka-kāras, bīra-vaṇigas, vyāpārin,[182] vyāpārikaḷ,[183] the Ayyāvoḷe,[184] Maṇigrāmam,[185] etc.

The exact significance of these terms, and the distinction between them, are not easily made out in the present stage of our knowledge; an attempt is made later to describe two of these gilds at length viz., the Ayyāvoḷe and Maṇigrāmam; here we shall try to present those general bonds of unity which bound the members of the associations of traders in the country.

First, it may be pointed out that the principal communities who took to trade were mainly four—the Ceṭṭis, the Baṇajigas, the Kōmaṭis and the Brahmans besides the Mahomedans. Ceṭṭi is derived from the Sanskrit *'śrēṣṭi'*.[186]

The word is sometimes spelt as Chiṭṭi, Sheṭṭy, Cheṭy,[187] *Saiṭṭi*.[188] The ancestors of the Ceṭṭis evidently constituted the Vaiśya caste of the ancient Indian society, and their allotted function was the trade and banking business of the country; and, true to their

Principal communities engaged in trade.

[180] *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 30.

[181] Ibid.

[182] *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, p. 460.

[183] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 195.

[184] *Ep. Ind.*, XVI, p. 332.

[185] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 69.

[186] According to C. P. Brown, however, 'Shetti, a shop-keeper is plain Telugu'. See Yule and Burnell, *Hobson—Jobson*, s. v. Chetty.

[187] Mahuan, *Account*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 344.

[188] Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions*, *Ind. Ant.*, VII, p. 304.

function, in the Middle Ages the *Ceṭṭis* were the principal merchants throughout the country. Mahuan says, "All trading transactions are carried on by the Chiṭṭis, who buy the pepper from the farmers when it is ripe, and sell it to foreign ships when they pass by. They also buy and collect precious stones and other costly wares."[189] The Telugu inscriptions speak of the Seṭṭies, and Behris[190] and the Kōmatis[191] and one of the three divisions among the Kōmatis, the *Gavaras,* is also found mentioned in Canarese inscriptions.[192]

Often the members of the communities describe themselves by the terms *nagarattār, vīrakoḍiyār, perunagarattār,*[193] *vaiśya-vāṇiya nagarattār*[194] or the *nālu-nagarattār.*[195]

The student of contemporary inscriptions cannot but be struck by the tendency among the merchants to claim high pedigrees and titles, as well as affectionate diminutive forms. A common form of the former is to trace the lineage from Kubēra. Thus the members of the *Vaiśya* race are said to be born of the race of Kubēra.[196] Their chief object in life was the main-

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[189] Mahuan, *Account, J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 344.

[190] *Nellore Inscriptions*, II, Ongole 58, 1310-11 A.D.

[191] 326 of 1915—1323 A.D.

[192] *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 9—23.

[193] 82 of 1911, 11 of 1910, *A.R.E.*, 1910, part ii, para 51, 222 of 1911.

[194] 405 of 1912.

[195] 130 of 1916.

[196] 364, 395, and 504 of 1915, 16 of 1917.

tenance of *dharma;* we are further told, they earned the blessings of the learned (by patronising them) their sympathy and love were universal and that they practised self denial and were famous. Another[197] states that they were recipients of boons from the goddess Vasava Kanyakā.

The Cetti merchants are also said to belong to various *gōtras,* e.g. *puccakola-gōtra, yeraśeṭṭi-gōtra, boḍarukuta-gōtra, venukula-gōtra, yanukula-gōtra, vivarisitla-gōtra* and *Appanangakula-gōtra.*[198]

The tendency to adopt affectionate diminutive forms is illustrated by an inscription[199] in which the forms—Malli (probably a diminutive of Mallikārjuṇa) Dhōṇi (for Doṇaśarman) are found—a practice even now common among merchants.

They also claim various titles: 'protector of all the poor and the helpless', 'adorned with the three jewels—*samyak-jñāna* (right knowledge), *samyak-darśana* (right faith) and *samyak-caritra* (right conduct).[200] They also describe themselves as 'born in the eminent line of Khaṇḍali and Mūlabhadra, as devoted to truth and piety and as skilled in conducting various kinds of trade with many sea ports.'[201]

The Banias, as merchants of Western India and South India, are referred to by Marco Polo. He calls

[197] 677 of 1915.
[198] 447 to 453 of 1915, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 82.
[199] *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 13.
[200] *Ep. Car.*, II, 333—1206 A.D., and p. 33, n. 1.
[201] *Ep. Car.*, II, 333—1206 A.D.

them Abraiaman. A few personal details concerning them are so full of interest that we reproduce them in the words of Marco Polo himself:—

"These Abraiaman are the best merchants in the world, and the most truthful, for they would not tell a lie for anything on earth. [If a foreign merchant who does not know the ways of the country applies to them and entrusts his goods to them, they will take charge of these, and sell them in the most loyal manner, seeking zealously the profit of the foreigner and asking no commission except what he pleases to bestow.] They eat no flesh, and drink no wine, and live a life of great chastity, having intercourse with no women except with their wives; nor would they on any account take what belongs to another; so their law commands. And they are all distinguished by wearing a thread of cotton over one shoulder and tied under the other arm, so that it crosses the breast and the back.

"They have a rich and powerful king who is eager to purchase precious stones and large pearls; and he sends these Abraiaman merchants into the kingdom of Maabar called Soli, which is the best and noblest Province of India, and where the best pearls are found, to fetch him as many of these as they can get, and he pays them double the cost price for all.

"These *Abraiaman* are Idolaters; and they pay greater heed to signs and omens than any people that exists.

"These *Abraiaman* are very long-lived, owing to their extreme abstinence in eating."[202]

Bonds of unity: 1. locality.

The bonds that brought merchants together may be brought under the following heads:—

1. Locality.
2. Trade in the same kind of goods.
3. Leader.
4. Membership of some religious sect.
5. Collective action, in professional and social matters.

With regard to locality, the question arises whether the members of the same gild were drawn only from one locality. Our evidence is not conclusive. There are gilds whose members were drawn from one place, others whose members were drawn from those who traded in the same commodity—others where the members were taken from a larger area, as well as from those who dealt in various commodities. As instances of the first we may note the following:—the Baṇajigas of Muḷuvāgil town,[203] the merchants of Mosaḷe pledged themselves to give[204] annually, the merchants of Vīra-Nārāyaṇapura Tambuḷa-paṭṭaṇa made a gift,[205] the

[202]Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, pp. 363-65. The description, in all probability, applies to the Banias—See Yule in Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 369. n. 1.

[203]1466 A.D.—*A.R.M.*, 1925, p. 89.

[204]*Ep. Car.*, II, 235,—1185 A.D.

[205]Bellary, 718 of 1919—1287 A.D.

merchants residing at Belgula,[206] etc. Of the second we may cite the example of the jewel merchants of Belgula[207] and the Thousand sellers of betel leaves.[208]

2. Trade in the same kind of goods.

It was usual for the gild of one place to combine with that of others e.g. 'the jewel merchants of Belgula and Jinanāthapura agreeing among themselves',[209]—indicates such combination. The third category we mentioned must have been of a loose kind—a gild which is said to have consisted of 'both sects of nānādēśis and those of the 56 countries',[210] or one which consisted of the Śeṭṭis of the 56 countries, Kavirai, Kannaḍiyar and Tamiḷ Śeṭṭis,[211] the people of the 32 sea-side towns, the 18 towns, together with gavare-gātrigas, śeṭṭis,[212] etc., or one which consisted of 'the people of the eighteen *samayas* and the *nānādēśis* of Tangēḍa' or 'the merchants of the *nāḍus*, towns, hills and manḍalams and all the 500 foreigners coming from the other illustrious 18 countries'[213] must obviously have been loose associations, often of a temporary character for such purposes as making gifts.

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206 *Ep. Car.*, II, 335—1195 A.D.

207 *Māṇikya-nakharangeḷu.* *Ep. Car.*, II, 241—1175 A.D. 244—1274 A.D. 245—1274 A.D.

208 *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, XI, p. 257.

209 *Ep. Car.*, II, 336—1288 A.D.

210 *Ep. Car.*, VII, Shikārpur 313—1390 A.D.

211 35 of 1918.

212 *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 25.

213 Raghaviah, *Economic Organization*, pp. 42—43, 387 of 1926.

That these associations had leaders who acted on behalf of the community is also clear from the texts of the inscriptions, though we have no evidence to find out how they were chosen. It may be assumed that the position of leadership was determined by various factors, age, hereditary connexion, wealth, etc.; but in whichever way they were chosen, as to the existence of recognized leaders, there can be little doubt. The terms used for denoting such vary; and the difficulty is increased by the fact that the leaders of the mercantile gilds were sometimes also heads of the town.[214] The leader of the *ubhaya-nānādēśi*,[215] the *paṭṭaṇa-svāmi*[216] (the *paṭṭaṇasāmi*)[217] the *daṇḍa-nāyaka* of the Dēśis[218] *Paṭṭaṇa-śāvi*[219] *śrēṣṭin*,[220] *mahāvaḍḍavyavahāri*[221] the *vaḍḍa-byavahāri*[222] or *oḍḍa-byavahāri*,[223] the *rāja-śrēṣṭi*,[224] *ādivaṇi-kēśan*,[225] *vaṭṭa-vyāpāri*,[226] etc. occur in the inscriptions at every step and we may well believe that in some

3. Leader.

[214] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 128 refers to the strong gild of merchants at Kaccippēḍu (Conjeeveram) and to their head, *mānagaramāḻvān*.

[215] *A.R.M.*, 1919, p. 33.

[216] *Ep. Car.*, II, 407—1250 A.D. *Ep. Car.*, IV, Kṛishṇarājpēṭ 3—1125 A.D. *Ep. Car.*, VI, Mūdgere 15—1164 A.D.

[217] *Ep. Car.*, II, 335—1195 A.D.

[218] *Ep. Car.*, II, 327.

[219] *Ep. Car.*, VII, Shikārpur 123—1159 A.D.

[220] *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 28. *A.R.E.*, 1926, Copper-plate 4.

[221] *Ep. Car.*, X, Kōlār 73—1404 A.D.

[222] *Ep. Car.*, II, 235—1185 A.D. *Ep. Car.*, VII, Shikārpur 118— 1054 A.D.

[223] Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 573.

[224] *Ep. Car.*, II, 137—1117 A.D. *A.R.E.*, 1926, Copper-plate 4.

[225] *Ep. Car.*, X, Kōlār 131—1198 A.D.

[226] *Ep. Car.*, X, Kōlār 82—1319 A.D.

manner or other they were recognized as leaders of the mercantile gilds, with some connexion also with the management of the municipal affairs of the town. Hopkins would appear to be right in seeing in the '*Nagar-Sheth*'[227] of Ahmedabad the survival of an office which corresponds very nearly to that of an old-fashioned mayor, though the incumbent of the office is neither appointed by the ruling power nor elected by the people, but chosen on account of his social superiority to represent the dignity and power of all commercial classes of the city. It is possible that the leadership of the gilds was in some instances hereditary and recognized as representing the interests of the commercial communities.

4. Membership of religious bodies.

Membership of a kind of *gaṇa* is often spoken of as a common meeting ground for many members of such gilds in Mysore. All were not necessarily members of the religious *gaṇa;* lay membership of the *Dēśī-gaṇa* was one of the common bonds of the jewel merchants of Belgoḷa.[228] It must be remembered, however, that such membership of special *sangas* or discipleship of *gurus* was individual i.e. the members of gilds individually attached themselves to the *sangas* or *gurus*, not collectively as a gild.

[227] Hopkins, *India*, p. 179.

[228] *Ep. Car.*, II, 64, 65, 66.

5. Collective action: i. gifts.

The common opportunities for collective action were those occasions when the gild, meeting together, decided that each member should pay some subscription to charity institutions; this, however, took various forms: (i) where the payment was made annual: the *mosaleyamakarangalu* pledged themselves to give annually a certain sum. Here the sum paid varied among members according to ability to pay—it varied from 5 *pā* to 1 *pa*,[229] (ii) another form was to give a certain amount per unit of article in which they traded. Thus for a bullock-load of grain 1 *baḷḷa*, of arecanut 1 *hāga*, of black pepper 1 *hāga*, of turmeric 1 *hāga;* a bundle of women's cloths 1 *viśa* for each *hon*, for a bullock load of betel leaves 600 etc.[230] (iii) a percentage of profits—thus 1% of their profits obtained either locally or from foreigners,[231] (iv) from each shop—here the shop was the unit,[232] (v) mixed—when the unit of subscription was e.g. fixed as shop for the clothier, jeweller, perfumery etc., and unit of quantity, in the case of black pepper, ginger, asafoetida, betel-leaves, cocoanuts etc., (vi) uniform, the *seṭṭiguttas* and other *nakaras* of that place, whether they sold pots, jewels, cloths, or yarn, gave one *vīsa* per *hon*.[233] (vii) the

[229] *Ep. Car.*, II, 241, 244, 245, 247 etc.

[230] *Ep. Car.*, II, 327—1181 A.D.

[231] *Ep. Car.*, II, 336—1288 A.D.

[232] *Ep. Ind.*, I, p. 279—1287 A.D.

[233] Pathak, *An Old-Kanarese Inscription*, Ind. Ant., XIV, p. 24.

pack bullock as the unit—gift of 2 *paṇa* on every ten pack bullocks.[234]

Other forms of charity undertaken or helped by the gilds were: constructing processional cars,[235] providing for lamps in temples,[236] and generally the maintenance of the temples.[237]

ii. Land holding.

Whether gilds owned lands in common is a doubtful point. Instances of gifts of land by the *nagarattār*[238] occur in our inscriptions but they are too few and uncertain to justify a general conclusion on the point. Moreover, such sporadic instances may also be explained by saying that the gilds might have bought a piece of land with a view to gift it, the price being paid out of the communal fund.

iii. Collective bargaining.

Another form of collective action by the gild lay in making agreements with individuals or corporate bodies. This is illustrated by an inscription dated 1279[239] where the officiating priests of the Nagara Jinālaya gave a deed to the merchants of Beḷgoḷa to the following effect:—when the lands of the god produced crops they would carry on the services of the god agreeably to the scale fixed by the merchants and

[234] 718 of 1919—Bellary, 1287 A.D.

[235] 61 of 1916, *A.R.E.*, 1916, part ii, para 83.

[236] 52 of 1927.

[237] 82 of 1911.

[238] 84 of 1911, 35 of 1918.

[239] *Ep. Car.*, II, 336—1279 A.D.

if they or their descendants mortgaged or sold the lands they should be looked upon as traitors to the king and to the creed. Such agreements might relate to the exemption from taxes, e.g. on the occasion of the recitation of the hymns, the merchants residing and carrying on their trade in a street called......were, at their request, exempted from the payment of taxes due on their houses. It was also stipulated that only in consultation with the *sthānikas* and the other residents of the village that they could sell, mortgage, or make a gift of those houses. They were to have dealings in gold (jewellery?), bell-metal (vessels), cloths, etc., on which articles they were to pay taxes.[240]

The establishment of a market was another privilege which the gild collectively bargained for: Two inscriptions from Cochin register an assignment of land by the *ūrār* (villagers) of Tāḷaikkāṭṭūr to the merchants (*vāṇiyar*) who had settled in that village during the time of the king, for the founding of a market (pīḍigai); within the boundaries of the land given, the *urāḷar* had no jurisdiction to interfere with the shopmen, nor could they themselves erect booths. All were free to buy the articles vended here.[241] Other illustrations relate to the colonization of temples precincts by weavers under the initiative of merchants,[242] to supervision and management of temple

[240] 503 of 1922—1230 A.D., *A.R.E.*, 1923, part ii, para 42.

[241] 259 and 358 of 1927, *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 63.

[242] 508 of 1922, *A.R.E.*, 1923, part ii, para 35.

business[243] and to the provision of adequate policing facilities (*pāḍikāval*)[244] in return for some payments; and, if we may accept the injunction quoted by the author of the *Mitākṣarā*,[245] the opinion of merchants was also a decisive factor in the settlement of prices.

The Mōṭupalli pillar inscription[246] also illustrates the bargaining power of merchant associations in the matter of obtaining concessions in regard to reduction of customs, etc.

iv. Disposal of property.

A good illustration of the power of the gild is in the regulations passed by it for the disposal of property, e.g. all the property of the Baṇajigas of Balligave dying without sons was to be given for the festivals and sacred rights of the god Gavareśvara, the property of those who died without sons in the *nagara* was to be given to the god Nagareśvara.[247]

6. Sanction.

It need only be hinted that the sanction for the effective performance according to gild regulations lay in social opinion.[248]

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[243] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 128.

[244] 173 of 1927.

[245] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 251.

[246] *Ep. Ind.*, XII, pp. 188 ff, infra, ch. V, (7).

[247] *Ep. Car.*, VII, Shikārpur 119—1181 A.D.

[248] supra, p. 377.

iii. *Three Gilds of Importance*

1. Ayyāvoḷe—Analysis of evidence.

Of all the gilds the gild of Ayyāvoḷe occupies a prominent place in the records of the period. The gild finds mention in more than fifty inscriptions,[249] spread over more than seven centuries, and practically all over South India. The earliest reference to it is in a Canarese inscription,[250] in characters of about the commencement of the eighth century A.D., on the front wall of an old Hindu temple, now called the 'temple of Lāḍ khāṇ' at Aihoḷe and the latest in date[251] so far as could be traced is one dated 1680 A.D. The largest number in any one century appears to be 13—in the twelfth century. Regarding the geographical distribution we find them in so northern a place as Kolhapur[252] or Bijapur[253] as well as in far off Coimbatore[254] and Tinnevelly[255] in the south, the majority of them coming from the Mysore districts, Shimoga, Bangalore, Chitaldrug, Hassan, etc., and the adjacent districts Kurnool, Bellary and Anantapur, so that, possibly these were the main centres of its activity. The East

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[249]See appendix iii.

[250]Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, Ind. Ant.*, VI, p. 138 n.

[251]*A.R.E.*, 1918, Copper-plate 18.

[252]*Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 31.

[253]*Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 9—23.

[254]18 of 1910.

[255]360 of 1916.

Coast districts like Chingleput,[256] North Arcot[257] and Nellore[258] also contain a few.

Character of the gild.

In spite of the numerous references, however, it is difficult to state precisely in modern terms the character of the gild. Let them describe themselves:—

Language of the inscriptions.

The assembly of people living in many countries ....who were endowed with truth and purificatory observances and pleasing conduct and morality and modesty, adorned by innumerable good qualities acquired by five-hundred strict edicts celebrated over the whole world; who were the protectors of the Vīra-Balañja religion; who were decorated with the pure banner of a hill; whose breasts were embraced by the goddess of perfect impetuosity and bravery; who were ennobled by their prowess throughout the world; who were born in the original and auspicious Khaṇḍalī-vaṁśa, (the lineage) of Vāsudēva; who, having acquired the excellent favour of the goddess Bhagavati, constituted thirty-two sea-side towns(?) and eighteen cities, and sixty-four seats of the *yōga*, and colleges of the four points of the compass; who were born to those who belonged to many different countries; who were energetic in disseminating the practice of the Balañja religion which included the Kṛtayuga and the Trētāyuga

[256] 256 of 1912.

[257] 377 of 1911.

[258] *A.R.E.*, 1919, Copper-plate 9.

and the Dvāparayuga and the Kaliyuga and sprang from the churning of (*the religions of the gods*) Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Mahēśvara; and who were the lords of Ayvoḷe, which is the best of cities,[259] etc. The record[260] from Shikārpur in the Mysore State also supplies a very long eulogy of these merchants and states in addition that they were brave men born to wander over many countries ever since the beginning of the Kṛta age, penetrating regions of the six continents by land and water routes and dealing in various articles such as horses and elephants, precious stones, perfumes and drugs, either wholesale or retail.

Points of common agreement.

From this collection of hyperboles, it is difficult to make a scientific account of the constitution of the gild. Ayyāvoḷe is everywhere the best of cities, its lords are invariably 500, they are endowed with truth, pleasing conduct and morality, adorned by 500 edicts, are the protectors of the Vīra Baḷañja religion, are born in the lineage of Vāsudeva, constitute 32 sea-side towns, 18 cities and 64 seats of the yoga—these praises are too common.

From a study of the inscriptions, it is possible, however, to try to reconstruct an idea of the gild in somewhat the following terms:—

Religion and trade.

The Vīra Baṇajigas were a trading caste. They were spread over '32 sea-side towns and 18 cities'. They were united by a

[259]Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, Ind. Ant.*, X, p. 189.

[260]*Ep. Car.*, VII, Shikārpur 118—1054 A.D. Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 342.

sense of belief in common descent from Vāsudeva and by a feeling that one of their primary duties was to preserve the tenets of the Vīra Baṇajiga *dharma* and to spread them as well.

Headquarters.

Primarily a religious community, they had their headquarters at Aihoḷe in the Badami taluk of the Bijapur district, 14 miles north-east from the Badami railway station. The importance of Aihoḷe may be seen from the titles claimed by them—they called themselves children of *Ayyāvaḷapura-Paramēśwariya makkaḷ*,[261] *Bhagavatiya makkaḷ*,[262] etc. The most important personages were constituted into a board called the Five Hundred *svāmis* of Ayyāvoḷe. How they were constituted we do not know, but that they were more or less a permanent body may be seen from the reference to the 500 in inscriptions ranging from the 8th to the 17th century. It is likely that the 500 *svāmis* has some connexion with the 500 edicts said to be strict and celebrated over the whole world or it may be interpreted as the 500 traders who had acquired the title 'Vīra'.

Various sects; federation of trading communities.

The gild included among them *Gavaras*, (*Kavares*), *Gātrigas*, *Śeṭṭis*, *Śeṭṭiguttas*, *Aṅkakāras*, *Śeṭṭiputras* (*Seṭṭippiḷḷai* ?), *Bīra-vaṇigas*, *Nānā-dēśis*, *Nāḍu*, *Nagara*, *Eṟi-vīras*, *Munai-vīras*, *Iḷañjinga-vīras*, *Kongavāḷas*, *Kaṇḍaḷis*, *bhadrakas*, *Gāvuṇḍa-svāmins*,

[261] *Ep. Car.*, X, Kōlār 170.

[262] Ibid.

Śingam, Śirupuli, Valattukkai,[263] (*Valangai*) *vāriyan* and others, so that, as Chandrasekhara Sastri suggests,[264] the Ayyāvoḷe might be considered a federation of trade gilds.

As regards occupation, they were a class of wandering merchants, 'born to wanderers' as they call themselves, visiting all countries, *grāmas, nagaras, kheḍas, paṭṭaṇas* and *drōṇamukhas* with valuable articles in their bags. They used asses, buffaloes and carts for transporting goods. They sold wholesale, or by hawking about with articles on their shoulders. The chief articles in which they traded were the numerous kinds of precious stones such as sapphires, rubies, diamonds and topaz, pearls, cardamon, cloves, sandalwood, camphor, musk, saffron, and such perfumes and drugs, elephants, horses and grains.

Conception of Eṟivīrapaṭṭaṇa.

As the community was widespread, they apparently earmarked certain centres as being specially their own. Such in fact seems to be the meaning of the term 'Eṟivīrapaṭṭaṇa' met with in the records[265]—the town of the Eṟivīras, one sect of the community found mentioned in an inscription from Vīralūr village in North Arcot district.[265a]

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[263]256 of 1912, 342 of 1912, *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 24.

[264]Chandrasekhara Sastri, *Economic Conditions*, *H.M.U.J.*, II, p. 223.

[265]360 of 1916, 365 of 1916.

[265a]349 of 1912.

The term *Aṣṭādaśappaṭṭiṇam* suggests that, the gild had its headquarters in 18 cities[266]—we are again told that the 500 made the Mahendra-caturvēḍimangala an Ayyāvoḷe.[267]

Common bonds: protection of grants and declaring towns Eṛivīrapaṭṭaṇa.

Their common activities included being guardians or protectors of grants,[268] and declaring particular towns as Eṛivīrappaṭṭaṇas.

It is said that in 1007 a special congregation which met at Śīravaḷḷi consisted of 1500 representatives of all *samayas* (religious denominations) coming from the four and eight quarters and of their followers who comprised various sects like Eṛi-vīras, Munai-vīras, Iḷañjinga-vīras, Kongavāḷas, etc. They declared Śīravaḷḷi a Nānādēśīya-Daśamaḍi-Eṛivīrapaṭṭana and conferred some privileges,[269] on the residents of that town. Again in the time of Rājēndra-Cōḷa I, they met at Mayilāṛpu (i.e. Mylapore) and decided to convert Kāṭṭur which was originally Ayyapuḷal into a *Vīra-paṭṭaṇa,* and thus exempted its inhabitants of all

[266] *Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 342.

[267] *Ep. Car.*, X, Mulbāgal 247—1100 A.D.

[268] *Ep. Car.*, I, 4, *Ep. Car.*, V, Arsikere 13—1288 A.D.

[269] 349 of 1912; Other *Eṛivīrappaṭṭaṇas* mentioned are in 321 of 1912,—Muttukūru,—256 of 1912— Ayyapuḷal-Kāṭṭūr; *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 25.

communal contributions, entitling them to receive twice what they used to get till then (in the matter of honorary privileges ?). They resolved also that, henceforward, the town was not to be inhabited by such members of the mercantile classes (1) as demanded taxes or tolls by threatening people with drawn swords or by capturing them (?) and (2) as wantonly deprived people of their food or otherwise afflicted them. They also declared that those who offended against this decision were placed outside the *Valañjiya*-community (i.e. were excommunicated).

Paṭṭaṇasvāmin.

They also appear to have had a chief, the *paṭṭanasvāmi*.[270]

Grants to tanks and temples.

Other common bonds appear to be in the main setting apart some impost for the benefit of a tank[271] or temple;[272] often they made such grants in company with other traders and artisans.[273]

[270] Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 342. *Ep. Car.*, VII, Shikārpur 94—1094 A.D. 402 of 1915.

[271] Fleet, *Sanskrit and Old Canarese Inscriptions, Ind. Ant.*, VI, pp. 137—39.

[272] *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 35.

[273] *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 9—23. Pathak, *An Old-Kanarese Inscription, Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 15.

Mutual aid societies.

They also appear to have functioned as mutual aid societies, for example, they record a gift at Śinganallūr[274] for feeding the members of their community.[275]

2. Maṇigrāmam, a merchant gild.

Maṇigrāmam is another merchant gild—which is evidenced by the inscriptions. It was a corporation of merchants like the Ayyāvoḷe.[276]

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[274]18 of 1910.

[275]The references to the southern Ayyāvoḷe are not quite intelligible:—

Ep. Car., XI, Dāvaṇagere 149—1113 A.D. Koḍanganūr is called the southern Ayyāvoḷe.

478 of 1914, Gaṇḍarādityana-Hoḷalu was called the best of villages (*grāma-cakravarti*) and the southern Ayyāvoḷe being the residence of the 500 merchants.

Ep. Car., XII, Tiptūr 43—1205 A.D.—Ālambūr which was like a local warehouse to the southern Ayyāvoḷe.

Ep. Car., V, Arsikere 77—1220 A.D.—Arasikeṟe, the southern Ayyāvoḷe.

Ep. Car., XII, Gubbi 11—1226 A.D.—Niṭṭūr is called the southern Ayyāvoḷe.

Ep. Car., XI, Hoḷalkere 121—1240 A.D.—Nirugunda is called the southern Ayyāvoḷe.

Ep. Car., VIII, Sorab 268—1245 A.D.—Kōṭiśvara, a southern Ayyāvoḷe.

Ep. Car., IV, Chāmarājanagar 45—1403 A.D. Ālūr is called the Ayyāvaḷiyūr.

[276]Here we accept the proposition that the Maṇigrāmam was a trading corporation. It may, however, be pointed out that this has been questioned by scholars. On the one hand Gundert and others (Gundert, *Ancient Documents, Madras Journal*, XIII, part I, p. 116, Logan, *Malabar*, I, p. 111) believed that Maṇigrāmam was a Christian principality. Richard Collins believed that it was a village of students according to the literal meaning of the term, (*Ind. Ant.*, IV, p. 153). After the able review of the whole position by the Government Epigraphists (Venkayya, *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 290 ff., Gopinatha Rao, *A Note, Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, pp. 69 ff., Venkoba Rao, *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 47), it is not necessary to repeat the arguments. Suffice it here to say that the evidence adduced so far supports the position taken here; the interested reader, however, is referred to the above-mentioned articles for a discussion.

The activities of the gild extended over a wide area; it is mentioned in such places at Kōṭṭayam,[277] Salem,[278] Kuttālam,[279] Siam,[280] Ramnad,[281] Tanjore.[281a] From its mention in inscriptions from such places as Salem, it is clear that the activities of the gild were not confined to coastal districts. It was a merchant gild with centres at various places, just as the headquarters of Ayyāvoḷe, inland as well as coast, west as well as east, extending its trading activities even to Arabia and Egypt, and the Far East.

Area of its activities.

In point of time, its activities seem to have covered the period from the 9th century[282] up to the middle of the fourteenth century.[283]

Period of its activities.

Membership of the gild seems to have been open to all merchants, as such, irrespective of their religion. On the West Coast, where trade was in the hands of the Christian merchants for a long time, it is possible that the

Membership.

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[277] *Trav. Arch. Series*, II, 9, ii, lines 24-25.

[278] *South Ind. Inscr.*, IV, 147.

[279] 439 of 1917, *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 47.

[280] *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 71.

[281] In Tittandatanapuram village, 598 of 1926.

[281a] 46 of 1930-31, *A.R.E.*, 1931, part ii, para 13; 'Manigrāman'.

[282] Kōṭṭayam plates, *Trav. Arch. Series*, II, 1, p. 67 and 439 of 1917, *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 47.

[283] Prof. Kielhorn's calculation, *Ep. Ind.*, VI, pp. 83—84—1320 A.D.

Maṇigrāmam organization had Christian merchants also in its rolls along with many other Hindu traders.[284]

Elsewhere it is possible that it consisted only of Hindus; the fact that the donors to the temple at Tiruvellaṟai,[285] Salem,[286] and Kuttālam[287] were Maṇigrāmattār clearly shows that they were Hindus and not Christians; the temple and the tank of Śrīnārāyaṇa in Takopa in Siam according to an inscription[288] was placed under the protection of the Maṇigrāmam.

In connexion with trade the gild members bargained for privileges also—we are told that two of the *vāṇiyar* called *Śattam-Vaḍugan* and *Iravi-Śāttan*, who belonged to the Maṇigrāmam gild were exempted from the payment of the tax even on two-roomed shops.[289] This is an instance

Privileges obtained.

[284] *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 27. cf. Panikkar, *Malabar*, pp. 4—5. The author says that it was a Hindu trading gild—'a powerful trade gild of Ceṭṭis'—which 'on no evidence at all has been claimed to have consisted of Christians'. The only reason for such assumption, according to the author, is that when General Macaulay discovered the plates awarding rights to Maṇigrāmam he thought they belonged to the Christians and handed them over to the Syrian Church (pp. 4—5). This appears to be going too far. The sounder conclusion from available evidence would appear to be that Maṇigrāmam on the West Coast, while consisting mainly of Hindu members, consisted also of Christians: the existence of Christian merchants also bearing the name of *Maṇi* shows that their ancestors also may have belonged to the Maṇigrāmam corporation. cf. *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 47.

[285] 519 of 1905, *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 47.

[286] *South Ind. Inscr.*, IV, 147.

[287] 439 of 1917—Dharmaseṭṭi of Maṇigrāmam.

[288] Hultzsch, *A Tamil Inscription*, *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp. 337—39. Gopinatha Rao, *A Note*, *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, p. 71.

[289] *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, para 63; 359 of 1927, *iraṇḍu-muṟi-piḍigai*.

where two individual merchants who belonged to the corporation got certain privileges; in the Kōṭṭayam plate of Vīra-Rāghava,[290] certain honours and privileges were granted to the head of the gild. In the language of the inscription[291] 'we gave (*him*) (*the right of*) festive clothing, house pillars.....monopoly of trade, (*the right of*) proclamation, forerunners, the five musical instruments, a conch, a lamp in day-time, a cloth spread (*in front to walk on*), a palanquin, the royal parasol, the Telugu (?) drum, a gateway with an ornamental arch, and monopoly of trade in the four quarters (*Śēri*)'. He was also given the brokerage on certain articles including salt, sugar, musk and lamp oil. The oil mongers and the five classes of artisans were made his slaves, and it was expressly declared that the grant was not personal but hereditary. In the Kōṭṭayam plates of Sthāṇu Ravi,[292] the privileges were wider:—

"No personal tax to be received for the slaves they buy......;— for admitting any conveyances or letting them out they are to receive eight coins; in the case of (female) elephants and of boats, whether for letting in or letting out they are to receive four coins; merchandise belonging to the citizens to be disposed of (or removed) by them with the cognizance of the above and that they (the Palliyar) do all the business (rights and duties) of a Lord (Swāmi), on the place of packing

[290] *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 290 ff.

[291] *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 296—97.

[292] Gundert, *Ancient Documents*, *Madras Journal*, XIII, part I, pp. 123—35. The language of the inscription is lacking in clearness; I quote the translation as given by Gundert.

the wares (or on spots where poles with leaves are set up as signs of prohibition) and elsewhere, only after deliberation with the above mentioned (*Añjuvaṇṇam* and *Maṇigrāmam ?*). If any injustice be done to these, they may withhold the tribute ("world-bearing hire") and remedy themselves the injury done to them. Should they themselves commit a crime, they are themselves to have the investigation of it".

The power of the gild over customs collection seems to be emphasized in an inscription from Travancore:

Control over customs: evidence of a Travancore inscription.

The Añjuvaṇṇam and Maṇigrāmam shall take care of the customs collected day by day. If the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam people have any misgivings, or injustice done to them they should settle these by stopping the collection and payment of the customs duty and duty on weighment till the offender comes to terms.

If mistakes are committed by some among themselves such mistakes shall be enquired into by themselves.

Whatever arrangement these two bodies, the Añjuvaṇṇam and the Maṇigrāmam people, do shall be considered to be prosperous.

3. Añjuvaṇṇam.

The Añjuvaṇṇam is mentioned in records[293] along with Maṇigrāmam, and, like the latter, appears to have been a trading corporation.

[293] *Ep. Ind.*, III, pp. 67—69. *A.R.E.*, 1927, part ii, paras 46, 47 and 48, Gundert, *Ancient Documents, Madras Journal*, XIII, part I, pp. 118, 123-35. *Ep. Ind.*, IV, p. 294, 598 of 1926, *Trav. Arch. Series*, II, 9, ii, line 24.

(3) WEIGHTS AND MEASURES

Introduction—Diversity—Names—Change in capacity and length—In relation between units—Variety illustrated with reference to i. the *kāṇi*—ii. The measuring rod—iii. The *kalam*—The extent of uniformity—Forces tending to uniformity: i. voluntary action of the villagers—ii. The Temple—iii. Royal initiative—The king's duty—Specific units: of length—of surface measures—of capacity.

Before passing on to discuss the conditions of internal trade, it will be well to pass in review the systems of weights, measures and currency, which were in use in the middle ages. Inscriptions of the time contain numerous references to such units; an analysis of the various units is useful for our present purpose in two ways:—it is an introduction to the study of the conditions under which internal trade was carried on; it is also a help in an estimate of the purchasing power of the prevalent currency as an aid to understand the standard of life.

Introduction.

The task, however, is not quite easy. The great diversity of the units of weights and measures makes it difficult to find a common connecting link to form a basis of discussion; the difficulty is only increased by the fact that our foreign authorities generally speak in terms of foreign units which were also apparently well established in the principal trading centres.

Diversity.

Before proceeding to take up the units themselves, it may well be worth while to remark that the standard measures in those days were often called by the names of reigning kings, or

Names.

villages or gods, e.g. *Arumoḻidēvan*, evidently called after one of the Cōḷa kings Rāja Rāja I. The Tanjore inscriptions give for the same measure the name Āḍavallān which was the name of the principal deity in the big temple at Tanjore.[204] At Vedāraṇyam, in the Tanjore district the measure in use was called Tirumaṟaikkāḍan after the name of the village. Saints were similarly honoured.[205]

This tendency of the times, while it speaks well of the respect of the age for gods, kings and great men, was itself one cause of diversity which is perhaps the most striking characteristic of the system of weights and measures. In the same locality, the same measure was known by two names, one the name of the reigning king and the other of the local god. The *marakkāl* called Āḍavallān was a corn measure which was preserved at the shrine of the god Āḍavallān and the *marakkāl* was declared to be equal to a rājakēsari, evidently derived from Rājakēsarin, the surname of the reigning king Rājarāja and of other Cōḷa kings.[206]

Change in capacity and length.

This time honoured custom would have been productive of little harm, if this was not accompanied by any change in the capacity of the measure or the length of the linear measure concerned, but unfortunately,

[204]Other examples: a measure named Drōhagharaṭṭa after the title of Ganga Rāja, (*Ep. Car.*, II, 388, dated 1117 A.D.) *drōharamalla*-rod, (83 of 1912, *A.R.E.*, 1912, part ii, para 45), *Dēvarśiltan* (*Trav. Arch. Series*, III, pp. 6 and 20).

[205]*Tirujñānasambandu-nāḻi*—214 of 1910, Pāḍi, Chingleput district.

[206]*South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 4, dated 1011 A.D.

this could not be assumed always. We have it on record that the length of the standard measuring rod was changed by a certain Kaṇḍan Aḷagukaṇḍa-Perumāḷ *alias* Gāṅgēyan at Pariccikōyil, Ramnad;[207] the same remedy was applied, with good intentions to reduce the burden of taxation. We are told that lands in South Arcot were till 1447 measured by a rod of 18 feet and assessed; there was complaint; the length of the rod was increased to 20 feet and thus the ryots were made prosperous.[208]

Such changes were also made in the ratio of the smaller to the bigger units of measurement. In Rāja Rāja's time 1 *mā* was 128 *kuḻi*, while under Kulōttunga it was ordered that one *mā* should be calculated at 100 *kuḻi*.

In relation between units.

Again the rods for measuring dry lands were decreed to be those used for wet lands.[209]

The result of such changes was the existence of infinite local variety. This we may illustrate best with reference to one land measure, one linear measure, and one measure of capacity—viz. *kāṇi*, the measuring rod, and *kalam*.

Variety illustrated with reference to i. the *kāṇi*.

The *kāṇi* was usually reckoned at 100 *kuḻi*,[300] there is one instance of 32 *kāṇi* making 4000 *kuḻi*, i.e.

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[207] 73 of 1924.

[208] 1447 A.D.—97 of 1918, *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 69.

[209] 97 of 1918, *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 69.

[300] Hultzsch, *South Ind. Inscr.*, I, p. 92, n. 4.

125 and not 100 *kuḻi* for a *kāṇi*.[301] Similarly *vēli*= 2000 kuḻi but some inscriptions point to a *vēli* being 6376 or nearly 6400 *kuḻi*.[302]

ii. The measuring rod.

The variety is perhaps best illustrated in the case of the measuring rod. In Tamil inscriptions we have rods of a variety of lengths:—[302a]

12 feet (*aḍi*) of 10″, 16 spans, 16 feet, 16½ feet, 18 spans, 18 of 10″, 12 of 10″, 21 *aḍi*, 22 feet, 34 feet.

In the Canarese country, the length of the poles used appears to have similarly varied from locality to locality. We note a few below[303]:

16 spans	at	Nelamangala
18 spans	„	Mulbāgal
46 spans	„	Hassan
64 steps	„	Bēlūr
110 steps	„	Tumkūr

This variety in the Canarese inscriptions seems to be supported by the opinion of the learned writer of the

[301] *South Ind. Inscr.*, I, 72, p. 104, n. 7, also for *kuḻi* and *mā*, see *South Ind. Inscr.*, V, 702.

[302] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, p. 344 n. 8.

[302a] *South Ind. Inscr.*, V, 642, 702.
131 of 1912, *A.R.E.*, 1913, part ii, para 33.
Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State, 266.
5 of 1918.
South Ind. Inscr., III, 15.
South Ind. Inscr., V, 411.
ibid., 642.
South Ind. Inscr., V, 762.
Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State, 403.
247 of 1916.

[303] *Ep. Car.*, IX, Nelamangala 1, *Ep. Car.*, X, Mulbāgal 49ᵃ, *Ep. Car.*, V, Hassan 66, *Ep. Car.*, V, Bēlūr 171, and *Ep. Car.*, XII, Tumkūr 27.

time, Rājāditya, who, in introducing the subject, says that for measuring land *'gaḷes'* (rods) are used and each village may have different *gaḷes* at different times.[303a]

The third unit we take to illustrate this variety is the *kalam*. In the Tanjore inscriptions we find, e.g. that the *kalam* consisted of 96 *nāḷi*,[304] while in the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa[305] a *kalam* was equivalent to 15 *kuṟuṇi* and a *kuṟuṇi* was equal to 6 *nāḷi*=90 *nāḷi*

iii. The *kalam*.

cf. Tanjore inscriptions

1 *kalam*=12 *kuṟuṇi*

1 *kuṟuṇi*=8 *nāḷi*

In another,[306] we are told of a *marakkāl* that would hold 7 *nāḷi* and 1 *uṟi*. That these differences in local measures existed and were taken note of is clear from an inscription which tells us that a certain chief declared that the paddy due to the temple was to be measured by the *Vīdiviṭankanmarakkāl* instead of by the *Rājakēsari* and this yielded a surplus income of 213 *kalam*.

That a certain amount of uniformity was observable in the system, though not always in the particular units, cannot, however, be doubted. In inscriptions, e.g. we find that the system of land measurement in

The extent of uniformity.

303aReferred to by Chandrasekhara Sastri, *Economic Conditions*, *H.M.U.J.*, II, p. 228.

304*South Ind. Inscr.* II, 4 and 5.

305*Ep. Ind.*, IX, p. 89.

306261 of 1921.

Tanjore was followed in Travancore also—the system by which one *vēli*, equal to 6½ acres, was divided into a series of primary fractions ½, ¼, ⅛, 1|16, 1|20, 1|80, 1|320, then into a further series of secondary fractions, being 1|320 of the above series, and again into a tertiary series of 1|320 of the second, and so on.[307]

Forces tending to uniformity: i. voluntary action of the villagers.

Two or three forces acting towards the attainment of uniformity in the matter of weights and measures within the villages may be mentioned :—one was the voluntary action of the villagers. In Vijayamangalam, Coimbatore District, e.g. in the year 1343, the villages agreed to adopt heaped measures, a matter affecting retail trade where diversity was possible.[308]

ii. The Temple.

Another was the temple, which served as a clearing house of information. The length of the measuring rod of the district in which Tiruppanangāḍu was situated was engraved on the temple walls, so as to serve as a standard linear measure[309] in that locality and the people could ascertain whether the proper measure was used or not. In certain cases, some measure of uniformity was sought to be secured by the comparison of the measure of one village with that of neighbouring areas.[310]

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[307]Sundaram Pillai, *Miscellaneous Travancore Inscriptions, Ind. Ant.*, XXVI, p. 143, cf. Tanjore inscriptions in *South Ind. Inscr.*, II, 4 and 5.

[308]590 of 1915.

[309]237 of 1906, 97 of 1926.

[310]97 of 1926.

The third force was royal action; what measures were generally taken by kings to standardize measures has not all come down to us, but that they were alive to such a necessity and considered it as part of their normal function may be inferred from a Travancore inscription of about 1150.[311] The king is described as turning his attention to standardize the weights and measures in his kingdom, and in token thereof they were ordered to be stamped with the royal totem, the carp. A similar attempt is registered in an inscription[312] from Kugaiyūr, South Arcot. It registers the order of Immaḍi-Rāyappa-Nāyaka fixing the same capacity of the measure (*marakkāl*) according to the old practice throughout the Magadai maṇḍalam.

iii. Royal initiative.

In theory it was also the duty of the king to protect the subject against the falsification of measures and weights. Those who falsify scales, the weighment rods, measures, standard coins etc., who make them different from the general standard of the country whether less or more, or alloy coins with copper, or other base metal, and those also, who knowing them to be false, yet use them in transactions both these classes were to be fined in the highest amercement.[313]

The king's duty.

The specific units of lengths, of surface measure, and of measures of capacity and weight are given in

[311] *Trav. Arch. Series*, I, 3.

[312] 1454 A.D.—96 of 1918, *A.R.E.*, 1918, part ii, para 69.

[313] Vijñāneśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 240.

tabular form in the Appendix. Here we may refer to the most important of these that occur in connexion with the determination of prices, and try to express them in terms of modern units and measures.

Specific units: of length.

Of units of length, the *rēkhadaṇḍa* was 1¼ yards.

Of units of surface measures the *vēli* of Tanjore, and in general, the *vēli* of South India seems to have corresponded to 6·6 acres; the *mā* ·33 acre, and the *kuḻi* in Tanjore ·0033 acre. The *kuḻi* of other places seems to have been ·0132 acre. The *manai* or ground 2400 sq. ft. ·055 acre and the *kāṇi* 1·32 acres.

Of surface measures.

The Canarese measure of land was usually denoted by *kamba*, and *matter*. The inscriptional references to the former[314] do not help us to determine with accuracy the extent of a *kamba* of land, and this may be left to future research. Provisionally we may accept Buchanan's calculation and equate *kamba* to 4 169|1000 acres.[315]

Of measures of capacity, the Tamil *nāḻi* or *paḍi* was 108″ cubic-capacity and the *marakkāl* or *kuṟuṇi* ½ cubic foot capacity and 1 *kalam* 6 cubic feet capacity.

Of capacity.

The Malayalam *nāḻi* assuming it to be the same as the modern *nāḻi* was 1|7 of the Tamil *paḍi* or *nāḻi*.

[314] Chandrasekhara Sastri, *Economic Conditions*, *H.M.U.J.*, II, p. 229.

[315] Ibid.

The Canarese unit was *māna* which was ½ a seer and among the higher ones, *baḷḷa* was 2 seers, *koḷagu* 8 seers, and *salage* or *khaṇḍuge*, 160 seers.

The Telugu *tum* appears to be 4 Madras *marakkāl*, and 20 *tum*=1 *puṭṭi*. Hence 1 *tum*=2 cubic feet. 1 *puṭṭi*=40 cubic feet.

(4) INTERNAL TRADE: AGENCIES AND CONDITIONS

Localization—Retail trade—Hawking—Co-operation—Partnership—The weekly fairs—State protection—Occasional fairs—Bazaars—Rules of the game—Business morality in practice—Sale of non-economic goods—Dependence on omens—Communications—Transport—Tolls.

The records of mediaeval fairs and wandering merchants show that there were at least some commodities which were localized and were not widely distributed, but it may safely be said that the wares whose production was localized and which travelled far were almost always of high price and small bulk—salt excepted, the cheaper and bulky goods being supplied by each district for itself.

Localization.

Again the centre of interest in the middle ages consists in retailing. Even the merchant who brought in goods from a distance centred his interest in selling directly to the consumers. The risk was less, the gain more steady, and security greater. Hence comes the importance of hawking,

Retail trade.

of weekly markets and the occasional fairs. The poor man who was unable to make provision for any length of time was of course supplied by the retail trader, of the bazaar or shop.

The importance of hawking is well brought out in the description of the famous Ayyāvoḷe merchants. They were a class of wandering merchants, born to wanderers as they call themselves, visiting all countries, *grāmas, nagaras, keḍas, paṭṭaṇas* and *drōṇamukhas* with valuable articles in their bags.

Hawking.

They hawked about with the articles on their shoulders[316]—or where they did not hawk, they usually accompanied their goods which they carried on asses, buffaloes or in carts.

This undifferentiated character of mediaeval trade is noteworthy. There is scarcely any division of function between merchant and carrier—the merchant more frequently owns than hires his beasts of burden. Again the merchant was not a specialist—he was a jack of all trades. He might be wholesaler and retailer, transporter and pedlar and often an artisan too. Every merchant was sure to be something of a soldier too, as he was thrown largely on his own resources for self defence—or he took care to join a party. It is easy to understand how in the Middle Ages co-operation of a certain kind among traders was

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[316] Exception must be made in the case of big merchants like Dāsi-Seṭṭi who 'transported goods from the east to the west, and those that were suitable from the west to the east' etc. *Ep. Car.*, V, Arsikere 22—1188 A.D.

a necessity forced upon them by the insecurity of the times, often having long distances and not quite secure roads to traverse. While they could individually be no match for robbers or hostile tribes, they could when united in a body oppose a successful resistance to the latter.

Co-operation.

It is also conceivable that partnership in trade was promoted by the habit of merchants journeying together. At any rate following the *Mitākṣarā*, we may well believe that partnership in trade was fairly well developed, and rules governing them found a place in the jurist's system of law. The essence of the system consisted in the transaction of business for the purpose of gain jointly by a number of persons, each of whom contributed towards a common fund, that served as the capital of the company: Partnership (*samavāyaḥ*) is an agreement by which several persons agree to do any business together; under such an agreement, for such work as is done by each of the people, such as traders, doctors, dancers, and others working with a view to gain, the share of profit or loss (*lābhālābhau*) i.e., of an increase or decrease, will be determined by regard to the contribution of each, i.e., according to the quantity of stock supplied by each; or, the shares (in the profit and loss) shall be determined as fixed upon by any agreement or compact (between the parties), such as having regard to the chief qualities and capacity in each, such a one

Co-operation.

should be entitled to two shares, such another one share, and the like.[317]

A man of crooked ways, i.e. a cheat, however, was not entitled to any profit, but was to be expelled;[318] he, moreover, among partners carrying on a joint trading business who is unable to supervise the vessels of merchandise and do other like acts, such a one may cause his own duty, such as that of conveying the goods of trade, or supervising the accounts of the receipts and debits relating thereto and like other acts, to be performed by another.[319]

These wandering merchants often sold their goods either at the weekly fairs or to the bazaar men—e.g. "The Vīra Baṇajigas met on Friday, holding the Friday's market in that town."[320] A fair is the coming together of a large number of buyers and sellers in a definite place and at a definite time. It was an important centre of business. The towns at which fairs were held had to provide the merchants and other visitors with conveniences such as good roads, plenty of water—we often read such statements as this: a watershed was established in the *santhe*[321]—a market place; and security from robbers was provided. These fairs were sometimes managed by the local merchant-

The weekly fairs.

[317] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 259.

[318] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 265 (1).

[319] For other rules see Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 260 and 264. See also Mādhavācārya, *Parāśara-Madhava*, III, p. 218.

[320] *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 40.

[321] 205 of 1918—1280 A.D.

gild, and its president *paṭṭaṇasvāmin.* To provide for the expenses, small duties were imposed in kind or cash on goods entering or in some cases only on goods sold and bought and these duties were gladly paid by the merchants, e.g. the tolls in the fair in the village Ganganatha, Mysore, were paid to Ballagavuṇḍa who established the fair[322]; such payments were called '*santheya-śunka*'. Establishing such fairs was considered as meritorious as constructing a new tank or building a temple. Farmers and merchants uniting gave lands and certain dues as rewards for such work and also as a provision for further expenses.[323] Occasionally a piece of land was given to the head of the gild that he might establish such a fair.[324] The market place is called *pēṭē,*[325] *santhe,*[326] or *santepēṭe.*[327] The mention of *santhe* and the establishment of a watershed in the market place[328] shows that the place was set apart for the fair and intended to be permanent.

Fairs were started or revived by the chief (gauṇḍa) of the nāḍu,[329] elsewhere by orders of the *mahāmaṇḍalēśvara*;[330] Balumanne—Rajalu 'with all the

[322] *A.R.M.*, 1925, 99—1418 A.D.

[323] 1218, *Ep. Car.*, XI, Dāvaṇagere 105—1218 A.D. *Ep. Car.*, IX, Kānkānahaḷḷi 6—1316 A.D.

[324] *Ep. Car.*, IX, Bangalore 61—1332 A.D.

[325] 450 of 1920.

[326] *A.R.M.*, 1925, 99—1418 A.D.

[327] 223 of 1918.

[328] 205 of 1918.

[329] *A.R.M.*, 1925, 99—1418 A.D.

[330] *Ep. Car.*, X, Chintāmaṇi 95—1362 A.D.

farmers......and all of both (sects) of *nānā dēśis*.... established a fair at Kayivāra, and appointing as *paṭṭaṇasvāmi* of the fair Periya-Nāyana made a grant of land for him'; or the minister himself revived[331] an old market, which had, for some reasons, been given up.

Regarding the days of the week when fairs were held we get evidence for Friday,[332] Sunday, [333] and Wednesday,[334] but no doubt, fairs must have been held on other days in different towns to enable the same merchants to attend the fairs in neighbouring towns. In big cities apparently a fair was held every day in different parts of the city;[335] in particular parts, every evening a fair was held.[336] Villages also had fairs.[337]

Horses, bullocks and even slaves appear to have been sold at these weekly fairs besides the grains and other things which find a place even to-day in such fairs.

To attract business to the fair, apparently a concession was sometimes made e.g. grain, entering the fair wholesale, was free of all dues for one year[338] but apparently such concessions were allowed only for a

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331 *Ep. Car.*, IV Chāmarājanagar 74.

332 693 of 1917, 70 of 1912.

333 570 of 1912.

334 30 of 1905, *A.R.E.*, 1905, part ii, para 35.

335 Paes, Sewell, *A Forgotten Empire*, p. 256.

336 Ibid., p. 255.

337 *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, X, p. 238.

338 *Ep. Car.*, X, Siḍlaghaṭṭa 112—1378 A.D.

short period usually one year, after which time the usual dues were levied. From the same inscription we learn that these duties were five fold:—

"according to the custom of Sādali, the royal due 1, the lordship due 1, the five *Seṭṭis'* due 1, for *miṇḍaguḍḍas* 1—these five dues may Dēpaṇṇa Voḍeyar levy and live in comfort."

Where the *paṭṭaṇasvāmi* of the fair was provided with land or for other reasons, some fairs were free from tolls—probably for particular communities. Instances such as the following[339] are not uncommon:— "For all who belong to the six *darśanas* whatever they buy—bullocks, servants or horses, and whatever they sell, they are free from all tolls—blacksmiths, carpenters, goldsmiths, washermen, barbers, Holeyas,—these are free from all tolls."

Since in the Middle Ages the retailer with purely local interest predominated, the fair developed as an important form of inter-local trade organization. It is characteristic in the first place that the fair is visited not only by local men, but by travelling merchants, who come for the purpose and secondly that the trade is concerned with goods on hand—possibly they must have taken part in collecting produce for export and in distributing imports to the villages.

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[339] *Ep. Car.*, X, Bowringpet 72—1430 A.D.

It is an interesting sidelight thrown on mediaeval conditions that occasions of meeting at the fairs were availed of for the purpose of making grants.[340]

As fairs were generally founded by local officials, no doubt with the knowledge of the trade gild, the state also tried to offer protection to those who did business there. An order of Vīra Narasimha-dēva runs thus:—'In the Tuesday fair of that town, whatever official exacts tolls, firewood, grain perquisites, gifts, pimping, ornaments and clothes, or commission on sales, has transgressed the order of the Emperor—Whoever does this will be flogged, degraded and dismissed. If an official, he will be dismissed'.[341]

State protection.

Besides weekly fairs there were also occasional fairs. We have a vivid description of one such—an annual fair—by Nikitin about 1470 A.D.:—"There is a place *Shikh-baludin Peratyr*, a bazaar Aladinand, and a fair once a year, where people from all parts of India assemble and trade for ten days. As many as 20,000 horses are brought there for sale from Beder, which is 20 *kors* distant, and besides every description of goods; and that fair is the best throughout the land of Hindostan".[342]

Occasional fairs.

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[340] *J.B.B.R.A.S.*, X, p. 238.

[341] *Ep. Car.*, V, Arkalgūḍ 21—1274 A.D.

[342] Nikitin, Major, *India*, pp. 12—13.

At Pervottum, a fair was held 'during 5 days'.[343]

Bazaars.

Besides the fairs the bazaars were a regular feature at least of every town. They are mentioned by travellers,[344] and the rents collected from bazaars are also mentioned.[345] Now the bazaars must not be confounded with fairs—of which many were held throughout the country at intervals. The bazaars were standing marts open at all times for the sale of goods—or the gratuitous dispensation of gossip!

And finally we must remember that some merchants had their shops in their own houses; "*manaikkadaiyār*", the shop-keepers who opened the shops in their own houses, are mentioned in an inscription dated 1429-30, thus testifying to the practice of having shops in one's own house.

Rules of the game.

Regarding the rules of trade—the rules to be observed in dealings between merchants and consumers—we have a fairly full statement in the *Mitākṣarā*. After consulting the various relevant texts, the *Mitākṣarā* lays down the rules for the conduct of both the parties. To the mediaeval mind it was intolerable that dealers and middlemen should manipulate supplies with the avowed object of forcing up prices; and market regulations were framed to facilitate, by fair competition,

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[343] ibid., p. 16.

[344] Nikitin, Major, *India*, p. 12, Paes, Sewell, op. cit., pp. 244 ff.

[345] 232 of 1914, 321 of 1910: *angāḍi-kkūli*.

adequate supplies and fair prices. The aims of mediaeval legislators were thus permeated by conceptions of a just price—that was fair alike to producer and consumer. Although knowing the increase or decrease in the market rates as regulated by the king, if traders combine i.e. join together, and, out of greed for profit, maintain another price, which is detrimental to the labourers such as the washermen and others, or the artisans such as the painters or sculptors and the like, they shall be fined.[346]

The just price allowed also fair profit:—By the king when he is near, whatever price is determined, i.e. is regulated by him by such a rate the sale and purchase must be made every day. That surplus which has been derived it is the surplus made, i.e. the special balance i.e. the surplus over the rate as regulated by the king is the only legal profit of the traders and *not one made from rates determined by their own fancy.*[347]

Elaborate rules were framed with regard to rescission of purchase and sale. Thus in the case of a commodity already tested, as Jolly says, the *Mitākṣarā*,[348] has developed the theory that the purchaser is entitled to cancel the purchase within three days if the price is extraordinarily high and the seller may cancel the sale within three days if the price is extraordinarily low; in the case of wares which have not yet been tested,

346 Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 249.
347 Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 252.
348 Jolly, *Law and Custom*, p. 239. Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 258.

the purchaser is entitled to annul the purchase during the period of testing on the discovery of some defect; in the absence of any such ground, however, even during the fixed period and in all cases after the expiration of that period, a penalty was to be paid when annulling a sale or purchase.

After three days every sale was final and definitive. An earnest money (*satyamkāra*) which may have been paid by the buyer is forfeited if he fails to realise the purchase; on the other hand a seller who refuses to sell an article after having promised to do so shall pay back to the buyer double the amount of the earnest money.[349] It is an interesting point of comparison that a similar provision is found in the English law of the middle ages:—" If the purchaser repents of his purchase and wishes to recede from his contract, let him lose what he has given; but if the vendor repents, let him restore double of what he has received as earnest money."[350]

Again one should purchase only in the open markets and even that before a witness, during usual market time, from honest vendors and at reasonable prices; if the thing purchased is stolen property the purchaser is liable to be punished if he is not able to identify the vendor who will have to give him back the purchase-price paid by him while the purchased property is to be restored to the proper owner. Even when the seller cannot be found, but if the purchase has at

349 Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 61.

350 Bracton, quoted, in Lipson, *Economic History*, p. 231.

least taken place in an open market, the purchaser receives no punishment though he must give the article back to the owner.[351]

Thus mediaeval economic ethics excluded higgling, and overpricing and free competition, and was based on the principle of just price and the assurance to everyone of a chance to live.

Business morality in practice.

We are in the dark as to how far this economic ethics was carried out in practice but as will be shown below[352] in detail, foreign travellers give a high tribute to the degree of trade morality of the merchant class in South India; we need only quote here one, to illustrate the point:—"You must know that these Abraimans are the best merchants in the world, and the most truthful, for they would not tell a lie for anything on earth."[353] This does not mean that all merchants were truthful at all times—in fact later evidence points to the existence of false weights and measures[354] in some localities, but the wealth of the authorities quoted[355] elsewhere may show that in the opinion of foreign observers, the ideal of honesty in business relations was understood and practised generally by the merchant class in the country.

[351] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 168—170.

[352] infra, ch. V, (3).

[353] Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 363.

[354] Barbosa, *An Account*, I, p. 112.

[355] infra, ch. V, (3).

Apart from economic ethics there are two interesting features of mediaeval trade which may be referred to. A number of non-economic goods were made subjects of sale and purchase. A few examples will bring out the point: sale of rights and privileges attached to the place of the temple accountant,[356] sale of the right of supervising repairs,[357] sale of the right of collecting taxes,[358] sale of the right of conducting a charity,[359] sale of 3⅛ days of worship,[360] sale of prasāda,[361] of privilege of worship in general[362] etc.

Sale of non-economic goods.

The second point is the importance attached to what may be termed superhuman factors in trade relations. Marco Polo may be quoted as witness,—"These Abraiaman are Idolaters; and they pay greater heed to signs and omens other than any people that exists. I will mention as an example one of their customs: to every day of the week, they assign an augury of this sort; suppose that there is some purchase in hand, he who proposes to buy when he gets up in the morning takes note of his own shadow in the sun which he says ought to be on that day of such and such a length and

Dependence on omens.

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[356] 126 of 1908.

[357] 209 of 1916.

[358] 79 of 1926.

[359] *Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 644.

[360] 439 of 1913.

[361] 432 of 1916—sacred food.

[362] 430 of 1913.

if his shadow be of the proper length for the day he completes his purchase; if not he will on no account do so, but waits till his shadow corresponds with that prescribed. For there is a length established for the shadow for every individual day of the week and the merchant will complete no business unless he finds his shadow of the length set down for that particular day—Also to each day in the week they assign an unlucky hour, which they term Choiach. For example on Monday the hour of Half tierce, on Tuesday that of Tierce, on Wednesday Nones, and so on.

"Again if one of them is in the house, and is meditating a purchase should he see a tarantula (such as are very common in that country) on the wall, provided it advances from a quarter that he deems lucky he will complete his purchase at once; but if it comes from a quarter that he considers unlucky he will not do so on any inducement."[363]

Communications.

Under the heading conditions of trade we may usefully include a short account of the condition of communication, and transport, and tolls prevalent in the middle ages. Regarding the former we have mention of numerous roads connecting important centres—some of them are called king's highways.[364] Kings are praised for building roads.[365] Some of the inscriptions state also the width

[363] Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 364.

[364] Rājapatha—Bühler, *A Grant, Ind. Ant.*, V, p. 277—1026 A.D.

[365] *Ep. Car.*, II, 143—1131 A.D.

of the roads—10 cubits,[366] 4 rods[367] of 18 spans, i.e., 72 spans, and so on.

Regarding security and conveniences on the way we are told by Barbosa that they go everywhere in safety taking goods from one kingdom to another but this statement needs much modification in the light of other evidence;[368] we may also believe that merchants had other conveniences[369]: we are told regarding Malabar, "at the distance of every half mile, there is a house made of wood, in which there are chambers fitted up for the reception of comers and goers, whether they be Moslems or infidels".[370] Further, in these rest-houses, drinking-water was also supplied. River communication, where it was possible, was also utilized. We are told, "From the inland regions great store of cloth comes down the river" [371]; where a natural backwater existed, it was of course utilized for the carriage of goods, e.g. between Calicut and Quilon.

Transport.

As to the means of transport, we find for long distances pack-animals[372] and carts were used. Lighter articles were also carried by men if the distance was comparatively short—grain appears to have been invariably transported in

[366] *Ep. Ind.*, XIII, p. 58.
[367] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 15.
[368] Infra, chapter VI, section (1).
[369] Ibn Batuta (Lee), p. 166.
[370] ibid.
[371] Barbosa, *An Account*, I, p. 165.
[372] Varthema, *Travels*, pp. 179—80; Vasco Da Gama, *The First Voyage*, , 52.

carts, though in some localities all provisions would appear to have been carried on pack-oxen.[373]

Pack-ponies,[374] pack-donkeys,[375] asses, oxen, he-buffaloes[376] and even camels figure in our authorities.[377]

Only two points call for any remark. Regarding men, the remarks of Ibn Batuta[378] are worthy of quotation as they hold good of Malabar even to-day. "When any merchant has to sell or buy goods, they are carried upon the backs of men, who are ready to do so (for hire). Every one of these men has a long staff, which is shod with iron at its extremity, and at the top has a hook. When, therefore, he is tired with his burden, he sets up his staff in the earth like a pillar, and places the burden upon it, etc.,"; we are also told,[379] "Behind cities and towns and villages they have plantations of mangoes, and jack-fruit trees, and tamarinds and other very large trees, which form resting-places where merchants halt with their merchandise." The second point is regarding the use of wheeled carriages. It has been said that in South India, carts were practically unknown and porters and pack-animals were the

[373] Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., p. 366.

[374] 18 of 1915, *A.R.E.*, 1915, part ii, para 48.

[375] ibid.

[376] *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 25.

[377] Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., p. 350.

[378] Ibn Batuta (Lee), p. 167.

[379] Paes, Sewell, op. cit., p. 237.

only means of transport by land;[380] it is sufficient to remark that the evidence of authorities is on the other side. Carts are mentioned in the inscriptions;[381] mortar carts,[382] carts carrying 'stores and everything else,'[383] carts carrying salt, dholl, betels[384] are also mentioned. Again Literature also takes note of the existence of the wheeled carriages,[385] and finally even a tax on carts is mentioned.[386]

Tolls.

Various inscriptions deal with tolls, but a detailed examination of them is not quite essential for our purpose. Suffice it to say that there was little uniformity in the method of collection or rate imposed. The following example illustrates how the unit of reckoning as well as the amount realized varies in the case of different articles:—

From those who buy from outside villages, and sell such articles as paddy, rice etc., which are sold by measuring shall be received one *nāḷi* for each *kāśu* realized and for other articles placed on the ground and sold one *nāḷi* shall be received on each heap. For articles sold by weight, one *palam* shall be received on each weighment. From each basket of betel leaves

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[380]Padmanabha Pillai, *Economic Conditions*, p. 17.

[381]*Ep. Car.*, V, Arsikere 108, 1255 A.D., *Ind. Ant.*, XIV, p. 25—1182 A.D.

[382]*Ep. Car.*, II, 143—1131 A.D.

[383]Paes, Sewell, op. cit., p. 254.

[384]*Inscriptions of the Pudukkōṭṭai State*, 365.

[385]Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 299; *Puṟanāṉūṟu*, 60, lines 6—9.

[386]*Ep. Car.*, IV, Huṇsūr 137—1162 A.D.

shall be received one *parru* and two arecanuts for each basket of them.[387] Here apparently all the tolls were received in kind, another shows they were received in cash as well as in kind.[388]

From various accounts it seems clear that each village and town had its system of tolls, and the large cities apparently made quite a large sum of money. Nuniz notes that Hospet yielded 42,000 *pardaos* of duties for things which entered it. One gate of Bisnaga[389] was rented out for 12,000 *pardaos* each year.

Remissions from tolls were occasionally made on articles of merchandise carried for sale on the road leading to Tirupati and other temples for a specified period ;[390] the remission might be for the merit of the king.[391] Nuniz also tells us there were certain "polled oxen without horns, which never pay[392] anything in any part of the realm."

While thus remissions were occasionally allowed, smuggling with a view to avoid payment of tolls was to be punished and doubtless it was also practised.[393]

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[387] 321 of 1910, *A.R.E.*, 1911, part ii, para 19, etc.

[388] 477 of 1915.

[389] Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., p. 366.

[390] e.g., 'during the seven days from the 10th day of the bright half of the Phālguna to the end of the 1st day of that dark fortnight' etc. *Nellore Inscriptions*, III, Ongole 132, 1443—44 A.D.

[391] 245 of 1905 'on 300 pack bullocks used for importing articles into the village of Tripurāntakam'.

[392] Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., p. 363.

[393] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 262.

(5) ARTICLES OF TRADE

Towns as centres of internal trade—The articles of trade—Classification: specialized products—Wet and dry crops—State needs.

Towns as centres of internal trade.

We have dealt with the growth of towns and the economic organization obtaining within the urban area. Whatever the circumstances which contributed to the growth of particular towns, it seems clear that towns were generally centres of internal trade, and it is this characteristic, more than its being a centre of industry, that marked off the urban from the rural area. And be it remembered that the internal trade was of two kinds:—i. between the town and the surrounding country-side, ii. between different parts of the country.

This is the truth contained in the exaggerated hyperbole: Dāsi śeṭṭi transported goods of the east to the west and those that were suitable from the west to the east, the produce of the north to the south and of the south to the north; Dāmōdar Śeṭṭi is said to have supplied the wants of the great Malava kings, and the kings of Kalinga, Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya kingdoms.[394]

The articles of trade.

The articles which entered this trade were of all conceivable sorts—this is the impression which a study of the inscriptions dealing with tolls gives us. The Canarese inscriptions mention among others cut grain, cotton, turmeric, jaggery, betel leaves, nuts, pepper, salt, grain,

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[394] *Ep. Car.*, V, Arsikere 22—1188 A.D., 157—1154 A.D., 108—1255 A.D.

slaves, camphor, musk, saffron, sandal-wood, pearls, black-pepper, mustard, asafoetida, cardamon, turmeric, drugs, cotton-cloth, sapphires, rubies, diamonds, lapiz lazuli, onyx, corals, emeralds, topaz, elephant, horse, woman's cloth,[395] camphor and musk. Barbosa[396] mentions copper, quick-silver, vermilion dye, as being sent inland. Sheep, fruits, grapes, oranges, limes, pomegranates, jack-fruits and mangoes are mentioned by Nuniz.[397] Elsewhere[398] we find mention of other articles: gold piece, rice, paddy, saffron, *yak-tail, cus-cus,* cotton thread, beads, sealing wax, areca, rock-salt, wax, resin, hemp, wool, sandal, silk-thread, tiger-skin, lead, tin, grass, firewood, vegetable, salt, sugar, lamp oil, cocoanut, palm-wine and wheat;[399] green ginger, turmeric, dry ginger, barley, copper, gum resin and madder are added by others.[400] A Kolhapur inscription[401] adds garlic, bajee, cummin and the 18 kinds of grain, flowers etc., to the long list. Near Bijapur and Golconda, we also find mention of diamonds and pearls of great value; we are told the diamonds were

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[395] *Ep. Car.*, IX, Dodballāpur 31—1267 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, X, Kōlār 70—1330 A.D., *Ep. Car.*, VII, Shikārpur 118—1054 and 1150 A.D.

[396] Barbosa, *An Account*, I, p. 165.

[397] Nuniz, Sewell, op. cit., p. 375.

[398] 88 of 1914, *A.R.E.*, 1915, part ii, para 36.
11 of 1917.
213 of 1918.
Ep. Ind., IV, p. 297.
Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 355, and p. 359 n.

[399] Barbosa, *An Account*, I, pp. 165 and 189.

[400] *Ep. Ind.*, X, p. 19, *Ep. Ind.*, V, pp. 9—23.

[401] *Ep. Ind.*, XIX, p. 35.
Ferishta, *History*, I, p. 306, says salt came from Konkan.

brought from Golconda and were sold to Surat or Cambay merchants.[402]

Classification: specialized products.

Classifying these articles which entered internal trade they were either specialized crops like pepper, ginger and cotton which required special climatic conditions grown in the districts on the West Coast and in the midland districts of the Dekhan, precious metals like diamond, pearls etc., found only in particular areas or an interchange of wet and dry crops which obviously could not be found everywhere; salt and betel are invariably found everywhere too. The popularity of the latter is described at length by several writers. "This betel", says Paes, "is a herb which has a leaf like the leaf of the pepper, or the ivy of our country; they always eat this leaf, and carry it in their mouths with another fruit called areca. This is something like a medlar, but it is very hard, and it is very good for the breath and has many other virtues; it is the best provision for those who do not eat as we do. Some of them eat flesh; they eat all kinds except beef and pork, and yet, nevertheless, they cease not to eat this betel all day."[403]

Wet and dry crops.

The differentiation that they made was of articles sold by measuring, counting,[404] or weighed by the

[402] Gribble, *A History*, I, p. 296.
[403] Paes, Sewell, op. cit., p. 242.
Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 371, pp. 374 n. 4.
[404] *Ep. Ind.*, IV, pp. 296—97.

balance, articles placed on the ground, by heap, by weight, and by baskets.[405]

State needs.

Finally we may note that under state needs, were particularly horses and elephants; horses were mostly imported, while elephants were obtainable mainly from Ceylon, Malabar[406] and from Kalinga.[407] They were so much in demand that merchants sold them according to their height 'so much more being demanded for each additional yard'.[407]

(6) DEBT, INTEREST

Nature of our evidence—The *Mitākṣarā*—Epigraphic evidence—Travellers—Interest and usury—Rates of interest (a) in theory—(b) In practice—Some formalities—Some conditions specified—Repayment of debt.

Nature of our evidence.

Our material for discussing the conditions of borrowing and the rates of interest may be classified under three heads—the evidence of the jurists, epigraphic evidence and the accounts of contemporary travellers.

The *Mitākṣarā*.

Vijñānēśvara's[408] discussion of the rates of interest, the ways of recovery, the law of surety, and the law of pledges is certainly valuable for our purpose. The value of his evidence

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[405] *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 90.

[406] 'Abdu-r Razzāk, Elliot, *History*, IV, p. 111. Barbosa, *An Account*, I, p. 118.

[407] 'Abdu-r Razzāk, Elliot, *History*, IV, p. 111.

[408] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 37—64.

is, however, limited by the fact that in much of what he has to say on the subject, he closely follows the text of Yājñavalkya, an admittedly older work; but at the same time, he brings to bear on it, a fresh mind, interpreting rules as a great thinker of the age in which he lived, and in doing so, gives expression to the best thought of his age on the subjects dealt with. Contrast his able discussion of recovery of debts from heirs with the rather tame statement of the ancient sages.[409] Again he amplifies the statements of the sage in some cases, while he limits them in others. His comment on Yajñavalkya ii, verse 43 may be taken as an example: Yajñavalkya: "An insolvent debtor of lower class should be made to work for his creditor; a Brāhmaṇa insolvent, however, should be made to pay by instalments according to ability." Vijñāneśvara, commenting on this, says, 'A Brāhmaṇa creditor and others (belonging to a superior class) should, for a debt, i.e. for the discharge of a debt, cause debtors of a lower class such as the Kṣatriya and others who have become insolvent, i.e. moneyless, to do their usual work, i.e. *agreeably to the (usage) of their caste and without detriment to the interest of their family.* A Brāhmaṇa, however, if insolvent should be made to pay by instalments according to his ability i.e. according to the possibilities of the case.' He amplifies the statement, also, by saying, 'Here the reference to a lower class is *indicative also of an equal class;* and, therefore a debtor of an equal class

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[409] Vijñāneśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 51.

also, if insolvent, should be made to do work which is proper for him. The mention of a Brāhmaṇa is also indicative of the superior class, and therefore Kṣatriyas and others, though insolvent, should be made to pay their Vaiśya and other creditors (of a lower class), by instalments and according to their ability'. Again in the application of rules, he makes some important changes, e.g. commenting on verse 39, where the sage lays down the rule for the maximum limit for the accumulation of interest, he says the rule should be applied after considering the capacity of the debtor as well as the state of things at the time, such as famine etc.—an important consideration. It is thus that commentators of a later age made old rules less rigid and adjusted the precepts of the Smṛtis to suit the needs of their times, and this holds good, too, of this prince of commentators. Even so, however, he represents only the thought of the age, the theory; for the practical aspect, we have to go to inscriptional references. Theory and practice did agree in certain matters but this correspondence cannot be assumed of all.

Epigraphic evidence.

The epigraphic evidence regarding interest extends over a large area of space and time, though Tamil inscriptions, here, as elsewhere, are more useful than the rest. There is, however, one circumstance which may be pointed out at the outset. The large majority of the inscriptions dealing with interest refer to the investment by the temple of money endowments for the purpose of having various needs of the temple supplied—

supply of food requirements for offerings to the image, for supply of oil, ghee, for burning lamps, for meeting the expenses of festivals; a few of them record also money lent, the interest of which was to be utilized for occasional repairs in the temple, or for repairing damages caused by floods to the irrigation channels, etc. The needs of the borrowers are not clearly stated; whether such money was spent upon productive purposes is a point we have to infer from other evidence, supplied to us by other inscriptions. Thus we are told that capital was invested in land;[410] or again, the money was lent out to nagarattārs;[411] or again a village assembly who borrowed money from the temple with the stipulation that they would pay the taxes due on a piece of temple land would also naturally be expected to invest the money in bringing waste land under cultivation. We have instances of money being spent on such reclamation.[412]

Travellers.

The evidence of travellers supplements the above, particularly in the matter of the recovery of debts.

Interest and usury.

The ideas then held on interest as we find them in the *Mitākṣarā* may now be briefly stated. The trade of a money lender as such was not considered immoral. What was considered immoral was lending money at exorbitant rates of interest. This is clear from the distinction made between *kusīda* and *vārdhuṣin*. The former is

[410] *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, 43, 992 A.D.
[411] 1043 A.D.—140 of 1912.
[412] supra, pp. 187 ff.

defined as investment of wealth for the sake of increment,[413] and in the same context, *kusīda* is classed as one of the legitimate occupations of the Vaiśyas, along with trade, looking after cattle and agriculture. But the trade of a usurer was regarded immoral. The usurer is placed on the same footing as a thief, the usurer himself being defined as one who lives on illegal or prohibited interest;[414] opinion in favour of lending money at moderate interest, however, had so far gained ground as to permit even the Brahman to live by lending money at interest while in distress.[415]

Rates of Interest (a) in theory.

While lending money at interest was ordinarily permitted, attempts were made to fix the permissible rates of interest, and the length of the period for its accumulation. 15% was regarded as permissible, if the capital was secured, higher rates being allowed if unsecured. Here, however, the mediaeval jurist could not get away in theory from the notion that debtors of higher classes should be favoured and the rates of interest decrease according as the debtor belonged to a higher caste.[416]

413*Kusīdam vṛddhyartham dravyaprayōgaḥ*—Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, i, 119, ii, 39.

414Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, i, 132 and 161—*Vārdhuṣyo niśiddha vṛddhyu-pajīvi.*

415Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, iii, 42.

416It is, however, noteworthy, that the author of the *Mitākṣarā* had broader views as to who was legible for the privileges of the higher caste; reading him as a whole, a Brahman was entitled to special privileges only when he followed the *dharma* of the Brahman. See ii, 73 (1) and 214. In the last he defines person of a higher order i.e. higher in learning on conduct compared with (the actor) himself. cf. Kauṭilya ignores caste privileges in the law of debt.

So that the Brahman had only to pay two per cent per month in the case of a loan without security, rising up to 5 per cent in the case of the lowest class. The distinction between mercantile loans and those 'advanced to common borrowers' to use Bacon's phrase was also maintained. Those who borrowed money and went to sea were required to pay twenty per cent per month, as there was a danger of the loss of the principal also.[417] The maximum accumulation permitted was double the principal in the case of gold but Vijñānēśvara says[418] that the rule was to be understood as applicable in the case of one transaction and one payment. He says, "If there are separate transactions with different persons, or even if the person is the same but there are different transactions on more than one occasion, gold etc. would indeed increase as before even beyond the two-fold limit. And even in a single transaction, when the interest is recovered daily, monthly or every year and thus it is not possible that the amount payable by the debtor might become two-fold, the amount as made up of the interest received before, *does certainly increase beyond (the) two-fold limit.*"[419]

The theory of the superiority of the higher class comes in also in the question of the recovery of debts;

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[417]Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 38—41.

[418]It is an interesting survival of mediaeval conception, that this limit is observed even to-day in parts of the Bombay presidency; this was elicited in the evidence before the Royal Agricultural Commission, 1927. The custom is known as *damdopat*, the rule by which the total interest on a loan may not exceed the amount of the principal. *R.C.A.*, Vol. II, part i, p. 186 and glossary.

[419]Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 39; italics are mine. This is a position clearly not contemplated by Yājñavalkya.

when the creditors belonged to different classes, the Brāhmaṇa creditor was expected to be paid first; the insolvent debtor of a lower class was made to work for the creditor,[420] the Brahman being exempted. This, however, only emphasizes the special character of the Smṛtis and Commentaries being Brahmanical.[421] A loan was free of interest, if on its being tendered it was not accepted, and if it was deposited in the hands of a third party. There were also friendly loans or loans for use, but they had to be returned on demand. He who, while remaining in one's own country, does not return a loan for use when asked for should be made to pay interest by the king from the date of demand. Rules then follow fixing the liability of the debt on heirs on the death of the borrower.[422]

(b) In practice.

The rates of interest sanctioned in the *Mitākṣarā* might be considered high but an examination of the rates prevalent in the middle ages as given in inscriptions shows that they pretty well corresponded with the theoretical rates. We find that the rates of interest varied between 8 and 45 per cent. per annum;[422a] three instances Nos. 56, 62, and 73 [in Appendix v] were

[420]It is quite an interesting observation that Nicolo Conti makes, "the debtor who is insolvent is everywhere adjudged to be the property of his creditor", Conti, Major, *India*, p. 31.

[421]See Jolly, *Law and Custom*, p. 95, "The Smṛtis are written by Brahmans for Brahmans and they bring out the caste privileges claimed by them in the rudest manner".

[422]Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 38 ff.

[422a]See appendix v; the numbers referred to in this para are the serial numbers in appendix v.

clearly exceptional, the more usual rates varying between 12½ and 30 per cent. We find too that both money and things were lent out as capital particularly paddy.[423] Similarly, interest was also paid in gold as well as paddy and other articles of consumption like ghee, oil, plantain, fruits, etc. probably exceptional as being connected with the temple. Column 7, relating to the time of payment also yields interesting results. Interest was calculated by the day, month, half year or the year, and paid likewise, in all ways. It is noteworthy, however that when the interest was to be paid in the form of paddy, the more convenient form was to pay the interest at the time of the harvest. Secured debts were also common.[424]

Certain formalities connected with the closing of the transaction are also studied from the inscriptions.

Some formalities.

Sōmagauḍa borrowed some money from Dīkṣita Nāgaṇṇa pledging his *vṛtti* land and when he demanded the document of the loan on repaying the debt altogether with interest, Nāgaṇṇa did not return it. Hence in the presence of the *mahājanas* of the village the discharge of the debt was inscribed.[425] This recalls Vijñānēśvara's statement that if a debt was contracted orally or with written documents before witnesses, the same witnesses must be present also when it was paid back;[426] if a written contract had been made, the creditor must give it back or tear it, or give the debtor an acquittance; part

[423] cf. Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 9.
[424] *A.R.M.*, 1924, 29.
[425] *A.R.M.*, 1924, 29.
[426] Vijñānēśvara, *The Mitākṣarā*, ii, 93 and 94.

payments too must every time be noted down on the back of the bond of debt or if it is not at hand, a special acquittance must be given in acknowledgment.

In regard to the payment of interest, however, we find certain conditions stated in the inscriptions, which were probably exceptional. Having agreed to pay 15 per cent. interest, the borrowers also promised to give two meals every day to the man that came to demand the interest thereon;[427] another [428] inscription adds that care was to be taken to identify the persons who called for the interest.

Some conditions specified.

In cases where paddy was the stipulated interest, other interesting conditions appear: "Twenty *kalam* of paddy cleaning it, defraying the cooly charge, conveying (the paddy) to the very court-yard of the temple, going (there) and measuring it";[429] in others, the particular kind of paddy was specified in addition: "*kuṭṭai* paddy well winnowed, free from moisture and chaff"; an instance where more details are specified comes from Bangalore, 1014, where it is said that clean paddy, 50 *kalam* of white paddy of the spring harvest, and 50 *kalam* of black paddy of the summer harvest was to be supplied, free from stones, chaff, sprouting and diseased grains.[430] Where articles of consumption other than

[427] A survival of this ancient custom has been noted in the Madras city where the retail milkman who borrows from the dealer has to supply him, along with his relations and friends, with meals, etc., until the amount is paid—Sampson, *A Brief Survey*, pp. 40—41.

[428] *Ep. Ind.*, VII, p. 143.

[429] Ibid.

[430] *Ep. Car.*, IX, Channapaṭṇa 129—1014 A.D.

paddy had to be supplied as interest, sometimes a condition was added that nothing but the specified article was to be accepted; if the capital was returned, it might be invested on land.[431] Similarly, in another instance[432] we are told, the interest should in no case be paid in coin but in kind and any irregularity was punishable.

Where the safety of the principal was in doubt, the persons, to whom the amount had been lent, had to produce the capital at the end of every fifth year before the managers of the temple.[433]

Irregularity or failure in the payment of interest was met with severe penalties, e.g., a fine of 12 *kāṇam* per day[434] or '⅛ *pon* daily to the king demanding it';[435] in other instances a fine to the Council of Justice and another to the king[436] are met with. Other disabilities are gleaned from an inscription of 1014:[437] 'They may forbid the entry of fire and water into the village, cut off communication with other villages, and distrain cattle' for collection purposes.

In passing it may be noted that there are also a few instances where penalties were not imposed, but a promise to pay the interest on some future occasion was considered sufficient for each year of default: 'We agree to measure out the 56 *kāḍi* of *kuṭṭai*—paddy (*of that year*) (on some future occasion)'.[438]

431 *Trav. Arch. Series*, III, 43.
432 268 of 1910, *A.R.E.*, 1911, part ii, para 19.
433 264 of 1913, *A.R.E.*, 1914, part ii, para 17.—1195 A.D.
434 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 105.
435 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 186, 255 of 1921.
436 262 of 1910—8¼ *kāṇam* to the Council of Justice and 1 *mañjāḍi* of gold to the king, *A.R.E.*, 1911, part ii, para 19.
437 *Ep. Car.*, IX, Channapaṭṇa 129—1014 A.D.
438 *South Ind. Inscr.*, III, 186.

Repayment of debt.

In regard to the repayment of debts the testimony of contemporary travellers is of some value: "When a man had a right to demand anything of another, and he happened to meet him, he had only to draw a circular line upon the ground and to make his debtor enter it, which the latter never failed to do and the debtor could not leave this circle without satisfying his creditor or obtaining the remission of the debt". Various writers in the middle ages attest this.[430] Marco Polo says that he did himself witness a case of this. It was the king who owed a foreign merchant a sum of money and though the claim had often been presented, he always put it off with promises. Now, one day, when the king was riding through the city the merchant found his opportunity, and drew a circle round both king and horse. The king, on seeing this, halted, and would ride no further; nor did he stir from the spot until the merchant was satisfied. And when the bystanders saw this they marvelled greatly, saying that the king was a most just king indeed, having thus submitted to justice. Varthema also gives a clear account of the same, adding 'should he (the debtor) quit the said circle and not pay me, the king would put him to death', and the evidence leaves no doubt that the practice existed in the country, and is proof of the fact that under the conditions of administering justice then prevalent, the creditor's interests were specially well protected.

[430] Al Idrīsī, Elliot, *History*, I, p. 88.
Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 343.
Al Kazwīnī, quoted in Marco Polo, *Travels*, II, p. 350 n. 14.
Varthema, *Travels*, pp. 147—48.